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# Near East/North Africa Report

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4 December 1981

## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

BUS ROUTES--Haifa, 19 Nov--A regular daily bus line connecting the border crossing point at the good fence near kibbutz Hanita and Nahariyya will be opened by "Eged" [Israeli Bus Corporation] jointly with the civilian liaison unit in southern Lebanon. The service is intended to provide the Lebanese who travel to Israel every morning for work, visits or medical treatment with convenient, inexpensive commuting service, and which will bring them back to the border in the afternoon. It has been reported by the Eged directorate that a short ceremony to mark the dedication of the line--which is the first of its kind--will be held next Sunday. [Text] [TA191550 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 1455 GMT 19 Nov 81]

BUILDING COOPERATION WITH EGYPT--The director of the factories section of Solel Bone, Tzvi Barzilay, has recently visited Egypt and concluded there the establishment of joint plants for the production of bricks, tiles and concrete pipes, as well as plants for industrialized building carpentry. Solel Bone will provide the equipment, know-how and manpower for the operation of the plants. There is a grave housing problem in Egypt and the Egyptians want to develop the building industries. In the coming days Egyptian representatives will arrive in Israel to work for the promotion of the projects. [Text] [TA131412 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 13 Nov 81 p 2]

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## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

LIBYAN AID TO TERRORISTS--Since April 1981 the relations between Libyan ruler Mu'amar al-Qadhdhafi and the Palestinian terrorist organizations led by the Fatah have again tightened. Libya today constitutes a source for considerable financial support for the PLO and a major conduit for the channeling of arms and ammunition to the terrorist organizations. Since April 1981 at least 30 meetings have taken place between PLO and Libyan leaders. Libya extends a great deal of military aid to the terrorists: the supply of arms, aid in training, sending Libyan volunteers to the ranks of "the Palestinian revolution," mobilizing volunteers to the terrorists' ranks, giving intelligence information for the purpose of terrorist acts and granting documents and passports to the terrorists setting out on their missions. Libya has supplied arms to the terrorists so that they can carry out terrorist acts against both Jewish and Israeli targets abroad. Among other things the Libyans have supplied the PLO with surface-to-air missiles of the SAM-0 type and anti-aircraft cannons. After the cease-fire took effect in Lebanon, on 24 July 1981, Libya has continued to funnel arms to the terrorists in Lebanon both via Syria and Lebanese ports. In an airlift Libya has transferred about 200 tons of arms and ammunitions while through its sealift it has transferred about 15,000 tons of various kinds of military equipment. [Text] [TA161425 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 16 Nov 81 p 2]

TERRORISTS' ARMAMENT BY LIBYA--Libya has supplied the terrorists with two patrol ships after the cease-fire in Lebanon took effect. Since the start of the cease-fire the Libyans have supplied the terrorists with large quantities of military equipment including 130-mm cannons, rocket launchers, surface-to-air missiles of the SAM-9 type and anti-aircraft cannons. The IDF spokesman today released information on Libya's involvement in terrorist activity in Lebanon and the entire world. Among other things it was reported that Mu'amar al-Qadhdhafi undertook to give the PLO about \$40 million annually and award large money prizes for every terrorist act. [Text] [TA150821 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0800 GMT 15 Nov 81]

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## NATIONAL FRONT LEADERS AIR VIEWS ON MUBARAK

London AL-ZAHF AL-AKHIDAR in English 6 Nov 81 p 3

[Text]

**LEADING MEMBERS** of the Egyptian National Front recently made known their organisation's attitude towards the new Mubarak regime in their country at a press conference held in London on November 3rd. Dr Hikmat Abu Zaid, Vice-President of the Egyptian National Front and a former cabinet minister in Gamal Abdul Nasser's government; together with her colleague, Dr Abu Bakr, answered many questions from representatives of the Arab and British press, as well as from a correspondent of Al-Zahf Al-Akhdar.

OPENING the conference, Dr Abu Zaid said that one of the major problems affecting the western outlook on Arab affairs was the western media's inability to understand the complex political realities of the Arab world and that, in part, the conference was being held to correct many of the misapprehensions current about the Egyptian opposition. Before answering questions from the press, Dr Abu Bakr made a point of setting out the Egyptian National Front's attitude to the actual manner of ex-President Anwar Sadat's death. He said: 'We would have liked to have seen President Sadat legally tried for his crimes.' Dr Abu Bakr went on to say that Sadat had done harm not only to Egypt, but also to the Palestinians and to the entire Arab people.

### Basing

In answer to a question from the right-wing London Daily Express as to where the movement was based, Dr Abu Zaid said: 'We really represent the ordinary man, rather than anything else.' Based currently in Beirut, the Egyptian National Front was active throughout the world, as well as in Egypt, Dr Abu Zaid said. In answer to a further question from the same reporter concerning General Saadeddin Shazli's whereabouts at the time of Sadat's death, an inference to the fact that the former Egyptian Chief of Staff was said to have been in Tripoli, Dr Abu Zaid said that it could not be denied that the General would 'go where there are open doors'. Dr Abu Zaid stressed that General Shazli had also been in Algiers around

the time of Sadat's death and that both he and the National Front had also been active in Damascus.

David Spanier of the London Times asked what the Egyptian National Front's policy would be in the event that the Camp David process were to continue. Dr Abu Bakr answered by saying: 'Camp David does not bring a comprehensive peace to this area of the world, on the contrary, tension has increased since the accords.' Confirming that it was the Front's policy to put this matter before the Egyptian people, Dr Abu Bakr said: 'We need a democratic national regime in Egypt ... We shall have a real referendum and take the treaties to the Egyptian people and I am sure that they will reject them.'

Referring to the damage which the Camp David process had

done to Egypt and its reputation, Dr Abu Zaid said that it now seemed that the new President's policy was but a continuation of Sadat's policy. Sadat's policy had, in her view, only succeeded in bringing Egypt into confrontation with its natural Arab allies. In her opinion, it was axiomatic that: '... if you open up doors with the western countries and the United States, you should not close doors to your brothers.' The treaties signed between Egypt and Israel had been 'approved' in utterly ridiculous referenda, Dr Abu Zaid said, in which the proverbial 99.99 per cent in favour were cast. Countering the popularly held view in the western world, she said that the relationship between Egypt and Israel was anything but normal: 'If objective criteria are applied, it is clear that this is no real peace.'

### Allies

Turning to the question of the Egyptian National Front's relationship with the other elements of the Egyptian opposition, Roger Matthews of the London Financial Times asked what was the current relationship between the National Front and another major opposition group, the Unionist Progressive Party, the questioner's inference being that there existed differences of opinion. Dr Abu Zaid responded by saying firmly: 'We are not rivals at all.' Admitting that there were some disagreements between the two groups, Dr Abu Zaid nevertheless stressed that on all the important issues, such as the need for democracy, the need to end Sadat's 'open door'

economic policy and the need to restore Egypt to the Arab fold, the National Front and the Unionist Progressive Party were in complete agreement.

Referring to the existing 'legal' opposition inside Egypt, Dr Abu Bakr made the following telling point: 'All legal opposition parties have to support Camp David. But you can't ignore the people, their rights... America and Israel have managed to impose a solution by force on the Egyptian people, that's clear... but how long will it last?'

### Party

A later question concerning the mooted offer by Mubarak to the Socialist Labour Party to participate in government was fielded by Dr Abu Bakr who repeated that the 'legal' opposition was essentially 'designed for foreign consumption, to show (them) that they have opposition parties...' But Dr Abu Bakr was in no doubt that any party that threw in its lot with Mubarak would be automatically separating itself from the Egyptian people.

As for the Muslim fundamentalists which the Egyptian regime claimed assassinated Sadat, Dr Abu Bakr said that before Sadat there had been no violence, but Sadat himself had armed supporters of his regime and this had brought violence to Egypt's streets and 'Sadat was a victim of his own violence'.

### The Fahd plan

Michel Swed-Cousins of the London-based news magazine 8



Days asked what the Egyptian National Front's attitude was to Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Fahd and his eight-point 'peace plan', especially in the light of the forthcoming Arab summit meeting on November 25th. Dr Abu Zaid said that the Fahd plan was an attempt to save Camp David from failure, to breathe life into a dead process. What the Egyptian National Front wanted, as a solution to the Middle East conflict, was the actual implementation of the UN's Resolutions 242 and 338, not a half-hearted attempt to resuscitate a dying diplomatic process. The National Front would wait until the forthcoming summit and for the Palestinians to make their opinion known before responding.

Al-Zahf Al-Akhdar asked Dr Abu Zaid whether she thought there was any connection between the policies of the Mubarak regime and the recent US Congressional agreement to sell AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia. Dr Abu Zaid said that there indeed was a connection and that President Reagan had felt it necessary to go through an 'ordeal' to sell the five aircraft to the Saudis. She said that this episode demonstrated the political weakness of the United States and that if Mubarak were to lean on the US and depend upon it for support, he would eventually find that support wanting. As for the planes, Dr Abu Zaid was in no doubt, they would 'serve the United States more than they will serve the Arabs'.

## Democracy and revolution

Confirming that it was the Egyptian National Front's policy to work for a restoration of democracy in Egypt, Dr Abu Bakr said: 'We need a democracy.' But Dr Abu Bakr also laid stress upon the positive aspects of the system under the late Gamal Abdul Nasser, which had broken down the vicissitudes of the Faruq era and had guaranteed the working people, in the cities and on the land, a 50 per cent representation in the Egyptian parliament. The National Front representatives made it clear that economic, as well as political liberation, was necessary for Egypt. As Dr Abu Zaid said, 'Where have all the billions gone?' in reference to Egypt's current \$20 billion state debt. She confirmed that they had not been used to build a single school or hospital under Sadat's rule. Her colleague then recounted for journalists detailed informed of the kind of corruption which has become the hallmark of Sadat's Egypt.

## Violence

Dr Abu Zaid ended the press conference by answering a question on the use of violence to attain the application of the policies of the Front. She said that violent change may be inevitable and even necessary, adding that: 'Violent revolution is the last stroke open to people... revolution, if it is the only solution to our problem... well, I am all for it.'

AL-SADAT'S MEMOIRS OF OCTOBER WAR

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 5, 12 Oct 81

[Article: "Excerpts From President Anwar al-Sadat's Memoirs"]

[5 Oct 81 p 3]

[Text] I declare in front of God and people that the plan we made for the June war was not carried out. Changes were made to the plan, and these caused the fall of al-'Arish on the first day of the war. When 'Abd-al-Nasir asked 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir, "Do you realize that closing the straits means war?" 'Abd-al-Hakim replied, "Our forces are prepared for anything, Chief." How did we allow the mistake of the air force strike to be repeated, and how did we fall in the same trap twice: in 1956 and 1967?

I chose "Memoirs of the October War" as a title for these articles. At first, I thought for a long time about how I should begin these articles. I thought that I should go back in these memoirs to the years that preceded the war about which I am writing. We've used many names and many adjectives in referring to these years. We called them the years of defeat, and then we changed that name and called them the years of the setback. Then we added the word attrition as an indication of our rejection of defeat; our rejection of capitulation; and our determination to resist and to regain what had eluded us.

Talking about the years of the 1967 defeat cannot begin with the day of the defeat. That discussion [must begin] with the few years that preceded that day.

Before the defeat of 5 June 1967 we had a committee called the Feudalism Liquidation Committee. This committee had begun its work after the 1965 Muslim Brothers' operation and the trials that ensued. An atmosphere of tension and anxiety was prevailing over the country.

Why was the Feudalism Liquidation Committee formed?

It may be that the committee was formed because among the features of a



totalitarian government--and we had such a government at the time--is that of being in a constant state of vigilance. Totalitarian government dominates everything and has its grip on everything: it makes the decisions; it controls the government; and it controls the regime. For this reason a totalitarian government does not allow any laxness anywhere lest such laxness enable others to rush against the totalitarian government and the regime.

I lived through that period.

I lived through all the particulars of that period.

I can say that the experiences I gained during that period made me announce later that the errors of democracy in an entire generation do not add up to the errors of a dictatorship in one day.

I believe that totalitarian government is always against our divine makeup as human beings who were brought into this world to fulfill a mission. Because of its method, its regime and its rule, a totalitarian government is against this mission. Anyone who puts a totalitarian regime into practice is always cautious, apprehensive and anxious. He dreads the anticipated change that people are always striving for to restore the country to sound government which would help them achieve the mission which is expected of them on this earth.

With little food and much freedom people can work, produce and lead a life of contentment. On the other side of the coin, nations that have all kinds of food and all reasonable and unreasonable manifestations of prosperity will not be content and will not rest if we give them all these [material goods] and at the same time deprive them of freedom. When we deprive people of their freedom, it is quite possible--or rather, quite likely--that changes will take place at any time and in any place.

This is what happened in Iran, for example.

Who would have believed that a man like Khomeyni who was expelled from the country and lived many years in exile would have returned to the country, expelled the Shah, ruled Iran and shook the whole world. But it is not true that Khomeyni did all this. It was the people of Iran by themselves who made the revolution. The people of Iran were deprived of their freedom. Their hearts were filled with rejection, with anticipation and with a desire for change. When they had an opportunity to launch their revolution with a man called Khomeyni, they went ahead with him, and the upheaval occurred.

Instead of giving people the freedom for which they had rebelled, Khomeyni wanted to turn the clock backwards to the early years of the pre-Islamic period. Iranians will not accept such a hateful government. The hundreds of victims who lose their lives every day provide the best evidence of the state of chaos which the country has fallen into under Khomeyni's rule.

My experience has taught me that when a person is free, he can give up numerous other things. Freedom cannot be evaluated in terms of money and cannot have a price tag. God gave man his freedom and sent him to this earth to serve in His stead. He thereby distinguished him from all the other creatures. If God gave man this freedom, how can a few people try to take it away from him, to suppress it or to deprive him of it?

Experience has led me to this conviction.

It may surprise the reader to know that I had dictatorial inclinations early in my youth. I had lived with the old school [of thought] that had begun in the first half of the 20th century, the days of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, Hitler and Mussolini. I saw how miracles were executed under the rule of dictators and how matters deteriorated under advocates of democracy.

I thank God that I [am the kind of person who] never holds on to a mistake. If the error of a course I am planning becomes evident to me, I stop my plans immediately, and I make plans for a new and different course.

It does not upset me at all to change my mind or my position if experience shows me that this opinion and that position are wrong. There is no shame in correcting a mistake; the shame lies in insisting on the mistake and persisting in it.

On 27 July 1952 I voted twice for adopting a dictatorship with the utmost violence and force. At that time I was quite convinced that the only solution for eradicating political and social corruption from our country lay in adopting dictatorship. For this reason I voted for dictatorship. The fact that I changed my mind later is something that I do not consider shameful; nor do I regard it a failure that I should be ashamed of.

Let me go back to the few years that preceded the defeat.

That committee, [the committee to liquidate feudalism], wounded the Egyptian people sorely. I do not exaggerate if I were to say that that committee represents the harshest [experience] which the people of Egypt had to face in their modern history. I would like historians to devote themselves to this period which saw the birth of the Feudalism Liquidation Committee so that new and future generations can appreciate the magnitude of the suffering people endured during that period.

The Feudalism Liquidation Committee dealt unjustly with many people. It humiliated and degraded them to the point that a citizen from Upper Egypt considered a decision by the committee an infringement on his masculinity. The man was not interested in the property and funds the committee took away from him. But he was concerned, angered and provoked by "the allowance" which the committee decided to issue him at the beginning of every month so he can meet his daily needs. The man from Upper Egypt was infuriated for [what he perceived was an infringement on] his masculinity and commented on this action with intense dismay and disapproval:

"What? Has the time come for me to receive an allowance like women?"

The man disapproved of himself receiving an allowance as divorced women do. He preferred having the committee take over all his fortune and all his possessions, even though he had not committed a crime, to being treated the way women and divorcees were treated; they went to court to ask for an allowance.

The Egyptian suffered from two wounds: the wound inflicted by the totalitarian government which had taken his freedom away; and that inflicted by the Feudalism Liquidation Committee which had ruined the dignity of families, degraded their men and humiliated their women. This was happening to Egyptians at the same time that Egyptian-Arab relations were at their worst. The Arab position was fragmented and in a state of disarray. Egypt had large military forces fighting in Yemen to save the Yemen Revolution which had erupted on 26 September 1962. Egyptian forces were fighting to save the Yemen Revolution from the medieval rule that was being applied in the country.

Our armed forces were able to establish the revolution's foothold, and they were also able to liberate Aden. These were the immediate results of our operation in Yemen. In return for that we lost thousands of our young people, the best of our armed forces, in mountains that were thousands of miles away.

The Yemen war contributed effectively in increasing the fragmentation of the Arab nation. Saudi Arabia's attitude toward this war was well-known and unequivocal. Those who followed Saudi Arabia's course stood beside it, and the number of countries opposing the Yemen operation and opposing the Egyptian military intervention in Yemen increased.

What is more important than all this is the fact that the Yemen operation made Egypt send the best of its armed forces to fight a war that was far away from its borders. These forces did not return to Egypt until after the June war, after the Khartoum conference and after the agreement that took place there between King Faysal and Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir.

We embarked on a war against Israel in June 1967 and a large part of our forces were thousands of miles away from the front. We embarked on a war against a vicious enemy, an enemy that was armed to the teeth, at the same time that we were fighting a battle that was not ours. We were fighting to protect a revolution that was not ours so as to comply with an appeal for Arab nationalism and Arab commitment.

I wish we had learned from the Yemen operation.

This operation should have been utilized to provide practical and real training for our Egyptian forces. Unfortunately, this did not materialize. Furthermore, the command that was in charge of that operation turned it into an operation for pure personal gain.

Some time after combat operations began, a kind of languor set in and only those who needed a financial benefit went to Yemen. Those who went to Yemen

received a double salary. They were also able to buy from Yemen goods they could not find in Egypt, which at that time was closed to almost all imports. [The military men who went to Yemen] used to bring into Egypt the goods and devices they had purchased in Yemen without paying any customs fees for them.

I recall that a list of officers' names was found in the office of one of the command officers. He was the one responsible for selecting the officers who went to Yemen. In front of every name on that list was a different symbol indicating the reason why the officer was selected for serving in Yemen. Among the most curious symbols were the letters, S.I. After decoding it became evident that the letters in that symbol meant, "status improvement." In other words, the officer was being sent to Yemen not to fight, but rather to improve his financial condition.

All this was revealed later after the June defeat and after the investigation in the case in which 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir and his group were charged. These lists, with their symbols, their riddles and their odd qualities, were submitted to the court.

This was the situation in Egypt.

This was how the Arabs were fragmented.

The Soviets--as has been their custom and their practice--did not like having one person's power grow beyond what that person deserves and needs. They were alarmed by 'Abd-al-Nasir's power and by the fact that his leadership had spread from the Ocean to the Gulf. They found that his power had grown beyond what in their view was the allowable limit. 'Abd-al-Nasir had turned into a legend for the Arab nation in the aftermath of the nationalization of the Suez Canal and the War of Suez. His name had become a household word, and the Soviet Union was becoming more infuriated by his growing popularity. Khrushchev contrived two crises with 'Abd-al-Nasir: the first one was in 1958, the year in which the unity with Syria was accomplished; and the second crisis was in 1961, when the separation took place.

As is the Soviets' custom, they wanted to counter 'Abd-al-Nasir's popularity by strengthening another leader who would become his rival. They tried this approach in 1958 when they thought that 'Abd-al-Karim Qasim--who was then the president of Iraq--could compete with 'Abd-al-Nasir and undermine him and his popularity.

Their expectations failed, and 'Abd-al-Karim Qasim disappeared from the scene.

They tried once again with Salah Jadid of Syria.

The Soviet Union's enthusiasm for Salah Jadid was unlike the enthusiasm it had demonstrated for any other leader in the Arab world before him. The Soviets hailed Salah Jadid as a leader, a commander and an inspired man. They called him a leader, a thinker and an innovator. Salah Jadid



returned the favor by spreading Marxism in Syria. He abolished titles and introduced the title of comrade into Syria for the first time. This is the title that is still used in Syria.

I recall that I was on a visit to the Soviet Union in May 1967, a few weeks before the 5 June disaster. There I met a friend of mine, Semenov, a political figure of considerable importance. After World War II he was appointed governor of the part of Germany which the Soviet Union had occupied.

Semenov is a member of the Central Committee, and he is deputy minister of foreign affairs. We have been good friends for a long time. He accompanied me for the entire duration of my visit to the Soviet Union when I headed a parliamentary delegation to attend the May Day celebrations in Moscow on 1 May.

I talked with Semenov about Salah Jadid, who was being lavishly praised by the Soviets at the time, and I recall that Semenov began listing the virtues, the qualities and the miracles of Salah Jadid with an enthusiasm that I had not seen him display before despite the numerous meetings we have had in the past.

I could not take any more of this, and I told Semenov, "You were fooled in the past by 'Abd-al-Karim Qasim, and you alienated Egypt for his sake. You thought that 'Abd-al-Nasir's leadership could be diminished and could come to an end with the leadership of 'Abd-al-Karim Qasim. Where is 'Abd-al-Karim Qasim now? Now you want to repeat the same story with Salah Jadid. Don't you ever learn from your mistakes?"

Semenov did not see my point of view, and he continued to admire Salah Jadid and to be enthusiastic about him.

It seems that he wanted to end the discussion about this subject. We were at Moscow Airport, waiting for the airplane that was to take me back to Cairo after the end of the visit. He whispered to me, "You are going back to Cairo today. You can tell 'Abd-al-Nasir as soon as you land that our information affirms that Israel has mobilized 10 brigades on the Syrian borders."

I did not tarry a single instant after landing at Cairo Airport, and I went immediately to 'Abd-al-Nasir's house to relay to him what I had heard from the Russians. 'Abd-al-Nasir told me that the Russians had relayed to him the same message the day before.

This is how the Soviets operate.

Their actions with al-Qadhdhafi were the same as their actions with 'Abd-al-Nasir. They told Jamal, "Be careful! Israel is mobilizing its forces against Syria. Beware." Then it later turned out that this information was false. They told al-Qadhdhafi, "Watch out! Al-Sadat sent an armored brigade from Alexandria toward the Libyan borders." Al-Qadhdhafi

became frightened and enraged, and he screamed and yelled so that people in all five continents could hear him. It later turned out that we had not sent any military forces. The whole matter was that we had sent trucks carrying a kitchen and an automated bakery to our troops.

The purpose of the Soviets is to hang al-Qadhdhafi by the ankles and let him twist and turn in the wind!

Let me go back to the alleged Israeli troops which Moscow had assured 'Abd-al-Nasir Israel had mobilized.

At that time Salah Jadid was waging the most virulent propaganda campaigns against Egypt and against 'Abd-al-Nasir personally. He slandered and up-braided 'Abd-al-Nasir because Egypt's Sharm al-Shaykh was still under Israeli occupation since the 1956 Suez war. In his addresses to the masses Salah Jadid used to ask 'Abd-al-Nasir questions such as, "Pray tell us, O leader of the Arabs, where is Sharm al-Shaykh now? Pray tell us, idol of the masses, why don't you send your forces to regain Egypt's territory and to seize it from the grip of the Zionists?"

These non-stop, relentless propaganda campaigns that went on made 'Abd-al-Nasir very angry.

But Salah Jadid and his mouthpieces were not satisfied with the matter of Sharm al-Shaykh, and they added to it the matter of the UN emergency forces. They accused 'Abd-al-Nasir of agreeing to the presence of these troops so that the troops can protect him against Israel's attacks.

These were relentless Arab distortions.

At the same time 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir was on an official visit to Pakistan. He heard the same distortions there. Those who were making those distorted statements were wondering how Egypt can accept the Israeli occupation of Sharm al-Shaykh? How could Egypt not show its power? 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir was provoked by this, and he wired 'Abd-al-Nasir to tell him, "Please order the Straits of Tiran closed."

When 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir returned to Cairo, 'Abd-al-Nasir asked him, "Do you know, 'Abd-al-Hakim, what is the meaning of your request? Israel will never acquiesce in this. It means that war will break out between us and Israel. Are you prepared to face such a war?"

'Abd-al-Hakim replied, "Our forces are prepared for anything, Chief."

'Abd-al-Nasir wanted to put an end to these relentless Arab distortions.

He issued an order for the mobilization of the Egyptian armed forces. They were to be transported to Sinai and to take up positions there to challenge and oppose Israel. As I said the best of our armed forces were in Yemen at that time.

'Abd-al-Nasir was not able to recall these forces and to add them to our remaining forces amassed in Sinai.

The people of Egypt woke up one morning to see an endless convoy of vehicles, armored cars and tanks going through cities on their way to Sinai. A tremendous propaganda campaign was organized to cover this major event on radio and television.

It was imperative that a military plan for mobilizing and amassing the troops in Sinai be drawn up.

And a plan was actually drawn up.

On 22 May, Air Force Day, 'Abd-al-Nasir delivered an address announcing the closing of the Straits of Tiran and calling upon the United Nations to withdraw its troops. This was because the presence of the troops there required that Egypt consent to that presence and request it.

At that time UN Secretary General U Thant came to Egypt and met 'Abd-al-Nasir so he can reach an agreement with him about the resolution to withdraw the troops. 'Abd-al-Nasir said that he was asking for the withdrawal of these troops from the Straits of Tiran only and that they were to stay in the other areas. U Thant, however, preferred to have the troops withdrawn from all the areas and not only from the area of the straits.

The UN emergency troops left Sinai and left the straits.

The military command applied itself to the task of making plans.

On 25 May I started going to command headquarters in Nasr City every afternoon. I would go with 'Abd-al-Nasir and a number of our fellow Revolutionary Command Council members to listen to 'Abd-al-Hakim. We would review with him and with the remaining leaders the plans for the battle, and [we would share with them] our views of those plans.

We never left that place before midnight, and we used to have supper at command headquarters. Our last meeting there was on 2 June; it was a Friday. The day before, Thursday, 1 June Israel's prime minister, Eshkol was shivering and trembling, as Weizman later reported. At that time Weizman was operations commander. Eshkol refused to begin the war, and he had rejected Weizman's advice and assurances that Israel would win the war.

The entire world was nervous.

From Washington, Johnson suggested that the parties take a deep breath. From Moscow the Russians sent a message insisting that the interplay be scaled down somewhat so the spectre of war can be kept away.

Communications, messages and wires from all the capitals of the world were arriving, offering advice and mediation.



On 1 June there was a surprising turn of events.

The formation of a coalition government was announced in Tel Aviv; that meant, quite simply, a war government.

I would like to say something for truth's sake and for history's sake. There are people still with us today who can attest to what I will say.

On Friday evening, 2 June 1967 we met around a long table at command headquarters. All the leaders of the armed forces took part in that meeting. As president, Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir endorsed the final military plan. It is known that in all wars a president would issue two directives: he would issue a strategic directive to the commander, and then he would sign the battle order.

'Abd-al-Nasir signed the battle plan and endorsed it.

Then he turned to the air force commander who was seated with us and said, "The Jews will aim their first strike against our air force." The air force commander promptly replied, "We expect this, Mr President, and we prepared our plans accordingly."

'Abd-al-Nasir then said, "Have you estimated the magnitude of our losses from the first strike?"

The air force commander replied, "They will not exceed 10 percent in any case."

Then the president looked at all the commanders and told them, "This is Friday evening. Yesterday, a coalition government was formed in Israel. If war breaks out, it will break out tomorrow, Saturday or the day after, on Sunday. At most war will break out on Monday."

It were as though 'Abd-al-Nasir was reading an open book.

War did actually break out on Monday morning, 5 June.

It is significant that 'Abd-al-Nasir did not leave the commanders of the armed forces in ignorance, as they say. Quite the contrary, he specifically told the air force commander that Israel's first strike would be directed against the Egyptian air force. He asked him to make his plans on that basis so as to minimize the magnitude of the losses. He also specified the time of the battle to all the commanders. He specified the day and also the hour so that none of them would say that the war had taken him by surprise and that he was not prepared for it.

'Abd-al-Nasir had a keen political sense. He was also a distinguished military man. [This military expertise] helped him take part in drawing up the plan for the offensive which was approved by all the commanders and which 'Abd-al-Nasir signed so it would be executed.

War broke out.

[And here] I declare in front of God and in front of people that the plan which had been agreed to and which was to be carried out under orders from 'Abd-al-Nasir was not carried out. Many changes were made into that plan so that it was no longer similar to the original plan.

In my opinion these changes which were made in the original plan were responsible for the fall of the city of al-'Arish on the first day of the fighting.

The fall of al-'Arish meant that the war had ended in the enemy's favor.

Al-'Arish was considered a firm base for our troops. It was there where our troops' needs, supplies and ammunition were stockpiled. It was chosen for that purpose because it was remote from the battle and beyond the enemy's reach. The fall of al-'Arish on the first day of the fighting was shocking.

In the 1956 Suez war al-'Arish fell only after dreadful, violent fighting in Abu 'Ujaylah that lasted for 3 days. Although the Jews had been able to penetrate Abu 'Ujaylah more than once with a counter-attack, they had been forced to retreat each time.

This happened in 1956. In 1967 al-'Arish fell on the first day of the fighting and without any resistance to speak of. With the fall of al-'Arish the outcome of the war was determined.

The ugly defeat which I am not discussing today ensued.

What matters is that on 5 June I woke up to the sound of someone telling me, "The Jews attacked us."

I turned on the small radio beside my bed and heard bulletins about the course of the battle that were issued one after the other by the command. The bulletin that I heard first reported that 27 Israeli airplanes which had been raiding our positions had been shot down.

My only comment to that was, "By God, the Jews went and did it!"

At that time I was quite confident, and I did not change my morning routine. I did not rush to put on my clothes and leave my house, but I went to the bathroom to shave and shower as I usually do every morning.

Later, after I got dressed, I went to the car and asked the driver to take me to Nasr City where command headquarters is located. We drove on Salah Salim Road and suddenly I saw the thick smoke in the sky coming from the direction of Almazah Airport and Cairo Airport. At first I was not disturbed. I knew that we had a missiles system guarding that area, and [I thought] that the smoke must be the smoke of the burning Israeli airplanes that had been shot down.

The car left Salah Salim Road and turned into the road that goes to Nasr City. I saw beside me another large black car flying the Soviet flag. It was the car of the Soviet ambassador. I immediately thought that the ambassador was on his way to headquarters to offer his congratulations on behalf of his government. Or perhaps he had been summoned to headquarters to receive its requests for weapons and ammunition.

I told the driver, "Drive behind the Soviet ambassador's car. He is most certainly on his way with us to headquarters."

Both cars stopped in front of headquarters. I gave the ambassador a chance to enter the building before me. Then I got out of the car and went into the headquarters [building]. I was greeted by a young enthusiastic officer who told me, "The number of Jewish airplanes we shot down has now risen to 50."

I took the elevator down. Headquarters was underground.

I walked into 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir's office.

I saw him standing behind his desk; he was in a daze.

I looked at the large couch in the room, and I saw two of our fellow Revolutionary Command Council members. They were seated, and they were silent.

The sight of 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir in a daze and the sight of the two colleagues and their odd silence made me expect to hear about an unexpected and an unanticipated disaster.

I looked at the field marshal and said, "Good morning, 'Abd-al-Hakim."

'Abd-al-Hakim did not say a single word in reply. He seemed to be oblivious to the fact that I had walked into his office and was standing in front of him.

After a full minute 'Abd-al-Hakim became aware of my presence. He remembered that I had bid him good morning, and he replied in a low voice, "Good morning, Anwar."

I turned and walked toward the sofa and asked my two colleagues, "What is the matter? Tell me, what is wrong?"

Their reply was the last thing I expected to hear. They spoke together, "The Jews destroyed our air force in its entirety."

One of them added, "Do you remember what happened in the 1956 war when the Jews bombed all the airplanes? They did the same thing this morning, and our air force in its entirety has been lost."

What my colleague, the member of the Revolutionary Command Council was saying had extremely serious implications. The error had occurred twice.

The man who was air force commander the first time was the same man who was commander of the air force the second time. Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir had warned that the Jews' first strike would be against the Egyptian air force, and the air force commander had assured 'Abd-al-Nasir in front of all of us that he expected that strike and that he had made his preparations on that basis so that the magnitude of our losses could be minimized. Furthermore, AL-AHRAM had published in its 3 June issue a news story from London that was relayed by news agencies stating that war would break out any day and that Israel would strike the Egyptian air force before starting any other battle.

All this was known to all of us a number of days before the war began. How did we allow the error to be repeated, and how did we fall into the same trap?

I sat down as though I were in a stupor. I could not believe what I had heard.

[12 October 81 p 3]

[Text] What happened on 5 June was not skill on the part of the Jews at all.

'Amir was airborne with all the commanders of the troops, and the missiles corps had orders not to fire any missiles.

Weizman grasped the significance of the opportunity which fate had brought to him.

He launched his attack and destroyed the Egyptian air force in its entirety.

I made the decision to wage the October War 21 days after the 5 June disaster.

The news hit me like a thunderbolt.

I sat down as though I were in a stupor. I could not believe what I had heard.

" were in 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir's office at headquarters, underground. This was on 5 June 1967.

The gloomy news I had heard was that the Jews had destroyed our air force in its entirety. I heard this news from two of our colleagues, members of the Revolutionary Command Council, who were in the room with us.

'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir stood behind his desk in a daze.

I was overcome by bitterness as I collapsed on the couch in the room. I had a million questions on my mind.

There was a dead silence in the room. We were dumbfounded and immobilized.

Suddenly the sorrowful silence was interrupted by the ringing of the

telephone and 'Abd-al-Hakim's voice taking the call which was from al-'Arish. The news was grim: the Jews were advancing toward al-'Arish.

As military men we understood immediately the significance of that. Advancing toward al-'Arish meant they were advancing toward the "firm base" or the invulnerable stronghold. If al-'Arish falls, I can say as a military man that the outcome of the war was set. As an invulnerable base, the Jews could not have reached al-'Arish according to the first plan which we had approved unless they did so after bitter fighting in which they would suffer heavy losses. Even after these heavy losses it was doubtful that they would be able to reach it.

However, the plan had been changed as I've already mentioned. To whom would I direct my bewildered questions? With whom would I talk?

The sound of 'Abd-al-Hakim's voice was the only sound that broke the silence in the room. He was still engaged in the phone call from al-'Arish. Suddenly the door of the room that adjoined 'Abd-al-Hakim's office and connected both rooms was opened, and 'Abd-al-Nasir walked in.

I did not know that Jamal had been at headquarters. The distance between 'Abd-al-Nasir's house and headquarters could be traveled in only two minutes. My house, however, was in al-Haram. When the war began 'Abd-al-Nasir was informed, and he was at headquarters within two minutes. He used to go to bed early and to wake up early. When I arrived at headquarters, he was there [already], and the Soviet ambassador who had entered the building with me was ushered to see 'Abd-al-Nasir immediately. I went into 'Abd-al-Hakim's office.

'Abd-al-Nasir told us, "Good morning, gentlemen," and we returned his greeting. Then he turned to 'Abd-al-Hakim and said, "Why did you summon the Russian ambassador, 'Abd-al-Hakim?"

'Abd-al-Hakim replied, "I want the Soviets to ask for a cease fire on our behalf because the United States has entered the war, and it is the United States that bombarded the air force."

In front of me and in front of two of our colleagues 'Abd-al-Nasir told him, "The United States did not enter the war, 'Abd-al-Hakim. Our air force was bombarded by Israel, not by the United States."

'Abd-al-Hakim tried to say something, but 'Abd-al-Nasir retorted, "I will not allow and I will not consent to a declaration that the United States has entered the war unless you bring me the tail of a U.S. airplane with its serial numbers!"

Even as 'Abd-al-Nasir spoke, our radio was stating that we had shot down 70 airplanes. This was after all our airports had been bombarded, including the Heliopolis and Huckstep airports.

'Abd-al-Nasir and 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir had an argument in the midst of which



'Abd-al-Nasir realized that there was no need to embarrass 'Abd-al-Hakim in front of us. He asked us to leave with the understanding that he too would leave. But we understood that he wanted to be alone with 'Abd-al-Hakim to rebuke him. He wanted to ask him, "How could you summon the Soviet ambassador? This is a political action and has nothing to do with the supreme commander. Summoning an ambassador of a foreign country falls under the jurisdiction of the president. If the supreme commander wishes to inform any ambassador about something, he is to present that to the president who makes the decision whether or not to summon that ambassador and whether or not to ask for a cease fire. This is the president's work." Jamal did not want to say this to 'Abd-al-Hakim in our presence.

We actually got up and left. When I went upstairs, I found Armed Forces Chief of Staff Muhammad Fawzi in front of me. He later became supreme commander of the armed forces. I asked him, "What is the situation for our forces in Sinai now that the air force has been bombed?"

Fawzi replied, "The forces are holding up quite well. However, this does not mean that the strike against the air force is not serious. That was an extremely serious operation." I told him, "You have to try to do something." Fawzi replied, "We are doing everything, and the situation is O.K."

It was obvious that the man was in quite a state.

I headed to my car and went to my house in al-Haram. I did not go to the People's Assembly, and I was the speaker of the People's Assembly in those days. I sat in my study at home and reflected on [what had happened].

A string of events unfolded itself in my mind's eye: there was 'Abd-al-Hakim's vacant stare as he talked to me. How can 'Abd-al-Hakim send a message to the commanders in Sinai and ask them to meet him at al-Malis Airport on Monday, 5 June? The supreme commander and all the commanders of the armed forces would be on an airplane, and the commanders of Sinai would be waiting at al-Malis Airport in Sinai!

Naturally the Jews got wind of this and heard about it. It was a valuable opportunity for them. When the supreme commander or the president is airborne, specific instructions are issued that not a single missile be fired until the commander in chief or the president lands.

The Jews came. They came when there were orders that missiles were not to be fired because the supreme commander was airborne. They entered Egyptian air space at 8:30 a.m., at the time when pilots usually have their breakfast after they go off their observation shifts. The routine had not been changed even though we were on the verge of war and even though we knew that the enemy could take this into account since we take such things into account.

What happened on 5 June 1967 was not at all skill on the part of the Jews. All circumstances were in their favor: the supreme commander was airborne with all the commanders of the forces; all the commanders in Sinai were

waiting in al-Malis; and the missiles corps had orders from us not to fire! What else was there? The road was quite clear. With one blow they eliminated our air force in its entirety, and not a single missile was fired.

'Abd-al-Hakim was airborne when this happened. He was half way to his destination, but when he became aware of what had happened, he turned the airplane back. He found that every airport over which he flew had been bombed. He continued to circle in the air in a daze. It may be that he stayed in a daze until I saw him in his office at general headquarters.

Finally the supreme commander was able to land his airplane at Cairo Airport. Even Cairo Airport had been bombed. This was the height of the tragedy. Almazah Airport had been destroyed; our airplanes were completely destroyed; and the air force commander was confirming what had happened when he said, "Quite right, Sir. All our airplanes in Sinai and in Egypt have been bombed."

It would have been impossible for me if there were a battle to station my airplanes within the enemy's reach. It would have been impossible for me to station my airplanes at al-Malis Airport which Israeli airplanes can reach in no time.

On the opposite side in Israel Eshkol was trembling when the straits were closed and when the Egyptian soldiers were amassed in Sinai. He had refused to enter the war. Operations director Weizman had gone to him and told him, "Here are my stripes." He tore off his military stripes and threw them to Eshkol. What did that mean? It meant a military coup. Weizman knew the meaning of opportunity that fate had brought to his doorstep: the Egyptian airplanes were all lined up on the ground as though they were taxicabs, and Weizman is a pilot and director of operations. He directed the battle and destroyed the entire air force because our airplanes were standing on the ground next to each other.

I realized all this as I sat in my house in al-Haram.

The time came when I would usually walk on the balcony in my house. But before I began my walk I called headquarters and asked 'Abd-al-Hakim what the situation was. He told me, "The battle now is around al-'Arish."

I hung up the phone, and I began walking on the balcony of my house.

I began walking from one end of the balcony to the other as though in a trance. Al-Haram Street was in front of me, and trucks coming from al-Tahrir Province were carrying farmers who were cheering, "To Tel Aviv!" They had heard the radio announcement which told the people, "We will reach Tel Aviv." Still in a trance I quickened my pace, and I let out a silent scream, "Tel Aviv? What are you talking about? Al-'Arish has fallen. The war is over. The air force was bombed in 1 hour. In exactly 60 minutes everything in Sinai and in Egypt came to an end." The voice inside me was still rumbling: I quickened my steps, and the trucks that were carrying the farmers who were chanting, "To Tel Aviv," kept coming.



I told myself, "Dear God, what will we tell those people? When will we tell them of the disaster? What is the outcome? Will they [i.e., the Israelis] cross the canal and come into al-Sharqiyah, or will they come from Suez?"

Various emotions surged within me, and many questions went through my mind as I walked on the balcony of my home in al-Haram.

Suddenly I realized that I had been walking for 2 full hours without being aware of it. I ran to the radio and turned it on. I heard the same tune: our forces were doing this and doing that, but there was no mention at all of the fact that our airplanes had been bombed.

Once again I picked up the telephone and called 'Abd-al-Hakim. His reply was, "Al-'Arish fell."

This was the last communication I had with 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir. When I hung up, communications between us had been cut. This was early in the evening of 5 June 1967.

I called Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and told him, "Jamal, go to headquarters and tell 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir to take a rest. You are the commander in chief and you are in charge. This means that you have the primary military responsibility." That is, if anything, God forbid, had happened in the October War, Field Marshal Isma'il knows quite well that I would be the one responsible and not he. I told him, "Jamal, you are the commander in chief." I found that Jamal was in the same state I was in.

Night fell, and the Jews began a psychological war. There were air raids on Cairo all during the night, and the alarm was sounded quite frequently. This was merely a psychological war. My little girl, Nana, who is my youngest child, was only 6 years old at the time. She would become terrified whenever she heard the sound of a missile or an alarm. I sent all my children to the first floor, and then I sent them to Mit Abu al-Kawm where I had built a house 5 or 6 years earlier. They all went there, and I stayed alone in Cairo. I believe that this happened with every Egyptian family.

[We spent] the night in Cairo while artillery and missiles were being fired, alarms were being sounded and airplanes were flying over. That was the case until morning.

I was dumbfounded, and I believe many people were too. People were dumbfounded and stunned. I would sit in my study in the morning and then leave my study and go upstairs to my bedroom.

And here let me pause to reveal a secret for the first time: 21 days after the 5 June 1967 disaster, I made the decision to wage the 1973 October War.

How did this come about, and why did it come about?

This will be the subject of future installments.

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EGYPT

THREATS POSED BY SOVIETS, AL-QADHDHAFI DISCUSSED

Cairo MAYU in Arabic No 32, 5 Oct 81 p 5

[Interview with Egypt's President Anwar al-Sadat by Ibrahim Sa'dah; date and place of interview not specified: "The Event of the Hour: al-Sadat Reveals the Ambitions of Libya's Madman"]

[Text] Why I said in my address to the party that al-Qadhdhafi was playing a game that was beyond his abilities.

Saudi Arabia is not far from the objectives of the Soviet plot and its major ploy.

The red communist sickle is awaiting the fall of Khomeyni to come forward and surround the Gulf.

It is no secret that one third of North Yemen is now under the control of the communist government of Aden.

President Anwar al-Sadat issued a warning to Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi last week in response to the suspicious actions that the Libyan president was carrying out near the Sudanese borders. President al-Sadat emphasized that the security and peace of Sudan were part and parcel of the security and peace of Egypt. He also warned that any infringement on Sudan's sovereignty would force Egypt to use all its clout and its capabilities to defend the sovereignty and safety of Sudan.

[Question] In the important address you made on the occasion of the second conference of the Democratic National Party you said that al-Qadhdhafi was trying to play a game that was beyond his abilities. What did you mean, your excellency, by that statement?

[Answer] Al-Qadhdhafi is actually trying to play a game that is quite beyond his abilities. Naturally, it is a game which his mind cannot grasp. As we all know al-Qadhdhafi's behavior stems from the malice that abounds in his mind and in his heart. This malice has led him to devote his life to the attempt to take revenge on two countries: Egypt and Sudan.

Egypt is his primary and major objective, but he knows he cannot achieve that objective so he has been trying to defer that and to take his revenge

on Sudan, the second target. It may surprise you to know that the desire al-Qadhdhafi has to take revenge on Sudan is caused by his personal animosity to Sudan's president Ja'far Numayri. This may be ludicrous in this day and age. Long ago during the Middle Ages it was usual for wars to break out because of personal hostility between kings and rulers. But [today], in the modern age wars break out for numerous and sundry reasons, and personal animosity is not one of them. Al-Qadhdhafi has taken us back today to the early days of barbarism and ignorance. He is full of hate and resentment for Numayri.

This resentment reached a point that al-Qadhdhafi has not been able to hide. He hurled attacks and slanderous remarks against Numayri during his visit to Ethiopia. Al-Qadhdhafi used words that one cannot imagine a head of state would use against another head of state.

[Question] We know that al-Qadhdhafi resents Numayri. Therefore, we find him plotting to create an upheaval inside Sudan. But why does al-Qadhdhafi resent Egypt? What is the secret of this hostility that comes over him every time he thinks of Egypt?

[Answer] He resents Egypt because he cannot get to it. His sick imagination led him to believe that he can rule the Arab nation and the Islamic nation if he can rule Egypt. Swindlers around him persuaded him that he can invade Egypt and rule it and [thereby] achieve his goals of ruling the earth from its capital.

Whenever the fairy tale quality of his dreams became evident to him, his resentment for Egypt increased and his hatred for Egyptians grew. I do not think it unlikely that the Soviet Union is supporting everything which al-Qadhdhafi is doing and planning. If we describe Soviet leaders as a group of villainous people, al-Qadhdhafi would be the arch villain, if one may make such a description. He is much more wicked than the fanatic advocates of violence in the Soviet Union. Al-Qadhdhafi is a man who is ruled by his instincts. All his plans are terrorist, bloodthirsty, destructive and bitter. He is a person who has no values. He is not ashamed of anything; nothing embarrasses him. At the same time he is stupid enough to allow the Soviets to use him to achieve their objectives.

[Question] What are the dimensions of the Soviet plot in the area? What can al-Qadhdhafi contribute to the implementation of that plot either knowingly or unwittingly?

[Answer] The Soviet plan is well-known. It is the same old plan that dates back to the days of the czars. Russia has been dreaming for a long time of reaching warm waters. This is the same dream that leaders of the Soviet Union have these days.

The dimensions of this plan can be determined on the map. As we see it, the plan has the shape of a sickle. It began in Afghanistan, which is a sovereign, Islamic state. The Soviets invaded, occupied and dominated it.

After Afghanistan, we will find that Pakistan will also be threatened by a Soviet communist invasion any time. Iran is the third target in the Soviet plan.

We can consider everything that is happening in Iran these days to be in favor of the Soviet Union. The Iranian communist party has been able to fool Ayatollah Khomeyni. The communists deceived Khomeyni; he believed them and left them alone, and he is now devoting himself as we know to strike the Majahedin-e-Khalq who are leftists but not members of the communist party that deceived Khomeyni. He confided in that party and did not touch it. The communist party is delighted with what Khomeyni is doing these days. The party is expecting Khomeyni to get rid of all those who oppose him and to get rid of his forces at the same time. The communists would then come and reap the harvest.

This reminds me of what I have already said about the Iranian Revolution. I believe that Khomeyni was not the one who ignited the Iranian Revolution from his exile in Paris. Those who really ignited the revolution were those who were calling for it inside Iran. They joined forces with each other and became one force and one clear front. In my opinion the late Shah committed a grievous mistake which some took advantage of to unite all the forces against him and against his government. The error that the Shah committed--and this was at least 2 years before the revolution--was that he abolished all political parties and kept only one party. The Shah forgot what is known as the movement of history which can neither be brought to a standstill nor paralyzed.

The Shah ignored this movement of history and either tried to bring it to a standstill or tried to turn back the wheels of time. People may have accepted a one-party system early in this century during the days of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, Hitler and Mussolini. At that time the movement of history made it possible for a single party to rule a country by dictatorship.

Now this has changed.

When we abolish parties and go back to a single-party system, we are thereby obstructing the movement of history. This is exactly what the late Shah did. He abolished political parties, and he put into practice a single-party system. All the forces--communists, leftists, rejectionists, middle classes and poor classes--formed a bloc and opposed the Shah, his regime and his policy. At that time Khomeyni was in exile in Paris. He was not the one then to ignite the revolution of Iran. It was the Shah's error--the fact that he did not acquiesce with the movement of history and obstructed its way--that ignited the revolution.

[Question] Is it not curious that the atheist communists would ally themselves with Khomeyni who came to Iran to herald the first Islamic Republic of the modern age?

[Answer] The communists knew quite well how to take advantage of Khomeyni to realize the first part of their dreams. They would then try to get rid

of him, and the country would come under their control. They would thereby realize the second part of their dreams.

If we were to look at what happened in Iran before the revolution, we would find that the communists have left their mark quite clearly everywhere. The method was 100 percent communist: the rabble rushing out into the streets, burning, destroying and wrecking everything while the Shah is not able to oppose them. The United States advised him not to use violence so that the problem would not get worse and the situation become more critical and volatile.

The matter became extremely strange.

There would be a demonstration in the streets one morning, and policemen would try to contain it. They would use weapons to disperse the demonstrators, and people would die.

On the following day there would be another demonstration to honor the memory of those who had lost their lives in the demonstration of the previous day. On the following Thursday there would be a third demonstration to commemorate their memory. And the story would be repeated on the 40th day of the incident and so on.

The Shah was not able to confront this communist method of provocation and terror. He thought that being lax and making concessions would ease the situation and bring an end to the demonstrations. The Shah actually underestimated many things and made numerous concessions, and this made some people take advantage of the situation and ask for further concessions.

This takes us back once again to the truth of the statement that it was the errors of the Shah that ignited the revolution and not Khomeyni from his exile.

Khomeyni was merely a symbol around which all those who had allied themselves against the Shah rallied. The Shah thought that he could obstruct the movement of history.

After the success of the revolution, every side began to ask for its due right in that revolution.

At first Khomeyni tried to create a balance between clergymen and civilian politicians. He appointed Bani Sadr president and representative of civilian intellectuals. Then he gave clergymen control of the party. In parliament he combined both groups so he could tighten his grip on the country.

And herein lies the difficulty.

Clergymen are not at all suitable for government. This is something that needs no proof or discussion. What was done in Iran by clergymen is the best proof of what I am saying. The clergymen thought that the government



was theirs and the country was theirs, and when Bani-Sadr tried to resist them, they got rid of him.

Conditions turned upside down very quickly in Iran.

A few months ago people used to go out by the thousands to cheer long live Khomeyni. Today thousands go out in the streets, but half of them are Khomeyni supporters and the other half are Majahedin-e-Khalq.

[Question] What can happen in Iran in the near future in the light of what is happening there these days?

[Answer] No one can predict what will happen there. Anything can happen in Iran any day or rather any moment. There is no stability; and there is no security or peace. It would be very easy for the country to turn into a bloodbath for any reason.

In my opinion what is happening in Iran these days is not in the interests of the Iranian people and is not in the interests of Khomeyni himself. It is rather in the interests of the forces that want to dominate Iran under the name of progressiveness and other suspect slogans.

If we were to go back to the Soviet sickle, we would find that Afghanistan was now realizing the Soviets' objectives. And now Iran is catching up with Afghanistan in realizing those objectives.

Moscow will not be satisfied with its interests and objectives in Afghanistan and Iran. It is striving to extend its grip towards the countries of the Gulf. If the Soviets were to dominate Iran, they would have reached the heart of the Gulf without the least exertion or effort since the distance from Kuwait to the Gulf is quite short and quite easy!

The Soviets have an official base in South Yemen. It is the Russians who have the final word in that Arab country which has become a Marxist country and which has joined [other] Marxist countries in treaties. South Yemen is now an Arab country only in name. It is a client, communist state in every sense of that term. It is no secret that South Yemen is moving in on North Yemen and that one third of North Yemen is now under the control of South Yemen.

Saudi Arabia is not far away from the objectives of the Soviet plan and its major ploy. Saudi Arabia has 60 percent of the world's oil reserves, and this in itself makes it a target that the Soviets entertain in their dreams.

The Soviets have bases in and around Bab al-Mandab that are armed with all kinds of weapons.

They have a presence in Ethiopia and Eritrea, and they have influence there.

Then the curve of the sickle extends at Chad, which al-Qadhdhafi has

penetrated, to join it with Libya, and the form and features of the sickle become complete.

It has recently become evident that an attempt was made to strengthen the eastern part of the sickle which includes South Yemen, Ethiopia and Libya.

Hence I am saying that al-Qadhdhafi is playing a game that is beyond his abilities. He is strengthening the sickle which the Soviet Union wants to implant in the area. He approved the tripartite agreement between Libya, South Yemen and Ethiopia under the supervision and direction of the Soviet Union. This agreement will strengthen the security belt that would realize the Soviets' ambitions in the area. It resembles the other security belt that the Soviet Union had previously set up to tie Angola and Mozambique together.

[Question] What is behind this new rapprochement between the three countries: Libya, Ethiopia and South Yemen?

[Answer] Regardless of his ambitions, the mad man of Libya will not be able to execute them without the Soviet Union's assistance and approval. If we were to bring together the arch villain, al-Qadhdhafi, and the root of all evil, the Soviet Union, it would become self-evident that such a combination presents a danger that cannot be ignored.

I do not fear for Egypt from al-Qadhdhafi's madness. He knows that he cannot touch it despite the hatred he has in his heart for Egypt, for its people and for its regime. But I am truly frightened for Sudan, and I cannot ignore the dangers that surround it. Sudan is considered the natural extension for Egypt. Accordingly, Egypt considers itself a party in any battle in which Sudan becomes involved or which is imposed on Sudan.

Fraternal Sudan is suffering from a few economic crises and problems. But this does not mean that al-Qadhdhafi is to try to take advantage of these problems and think that he can do in Sudan what he did in Chad.

The madman of Libya is actually making plans for a major ploy in which Sudan would be the target. He would realize with it a portion of his major fantasy which would create for him the new empire he dreams of. The madman's ambitions are unlimited. He achieved something in Chad, and he imagined that he could achieve the same thing in Niger, in Central Africa, in the Cameroon, in Nigeria and in other countries as well.

It is evident that the Soviet Union does not oppose al-Qadhdhafi's ambitions. On the contrary the Soviet Union was able to use him, to direct him and to turn him into the cat's paw with which it threatens regimes that oppose it in the area.

It is for this reason that I warned everybody against the dangers of this major ploy which the Soviet Union planned and which al-Qadhdhafi is a party to. I told the West that it was impossible to stand by and watch the game and the players as though the matter were of no concern to us and posed no threat to us.



It is true that there is nothing new about the Soviet objective of surrounding the area with the communist sickle, but what is new here is that al-Qadhdhafi who took part in the plan is doing so with the only weapon he has: the check book. All that the mad man of Libya does is wave his check book because he is confident that that check book can sometimes accomplish more than armies and military units can. One forgives him for believing that since he was able to buy some people's loyalties and consciences by writing checks. When al-Qadhdhafi plotted the recent aborted coup in Sudan, he did not rely on his armed forces to overthrow his arch enemy, President Numayri; he only depended on his check book. He purchased ordinary cars with private license plates, and these cars roamed the streets of Khartoum. His men, armed with machine guns, rode these cars through the streets of Khartoum and fired at innocent residents of the city. People therefore ran to hide away from the bullets that were streaming from the crazy cars.

Al-Qadhdhafi once tried to coordinate efforts with members of Sudan's opposition for the purpose of overthrowing Numayri's regime. He actually amassed his troops alongside the members of the opposition and marched from the west toward Khartoum. Egypt sent reconnaissance airplanes and discovered the plot. Al-Qadhdhafi got wind of that and withdrew quickly. He did not carry out his plan.

[Question] It is evident that al-Qadhdhafi will not stop and that he will not withdraw from the big league game which he thought he could play. What is Egypt's attitude on all this Mr President?

[Answer] As I said the major target for Libya's mad man is Egypt. He wants to overthrow Egypt's regime, and he wants to subjugate Egypt's people so that all of Cairo would be open to him and he can rule the world from it. Although the mad man is confident that realization of that dream is impossible, he is directing his resentment and his hatred at this stage toward Sudan. Al-Qadhdhafi is forgetting that if he attacks Sudan or threatens its security and its borders, Egypt will not stand by and watch. I warned al-Qadhdhafi in the address I gave at the second conference of the Democratic National Party that he would find Egypt standing beside Sudan the moment he moves to play the game that is beyond him and his abilities.

Sudan is aware of what al-Qadhdhafi is trying to do on its borders. We are deliberating with the Sudanese [on this matter] continuously. Thwarting al-Qadhdhafi's attempts cannot be achieved by ignoring them, but rather by working to abort them and oppose them.

The military in Sudan is as old as the military in Egypt is. Its history goes back 80 years. This means that Sudan is capable of making plans to defend its borders; it is capable of driving away from its territory the aggressors and the mad men.

The military in Sudan do not lack the brains to plan and to fight. The only thing they need is more weapons and more military equipment with which they can teach the mad man an unforgettable lesson.

## GREEN LIGHT FOR CAIRO METRO

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 6 Nov 81 p 3

[Text] In the overcrowded area between the Kubri el-Laymoun and the Cairo Main Railway stations, passers-by rejoice when they see a sign-board reading "Tests of Soil for the Underground Project." It is really refreshing news amidst the mad crowd of the Ramses Square, though it is only a mere sign-board.

Finally, and after years of controversy and delayed decision-making, a most ambitious project, the Cairo Metro, looks like getting underway, thanks to French aid.

The project, which will be undertaken in three main phases, will involve a total around \$1,000 million. The first stage is to link by underground tunnel the existing regional line which goes north to el-Marg with the southern regional line to Helwan.

### Replacement

The underground tunnel, about 4 km long, will link Sayeda Zeinab in the south with Ramses Square. There will be five new stations, one of which, Tahrir, will replace the present nearby Bab el-Luke Station. Moreover, the two regional lines will be upgraded.

The French extended about £100 million to cover the cost of the first phase, accounting for some two-thirds of the total cost. The contract has been awarded to Interinfra, a French consortium which includes Societe General d'Electricite, Alsthom Atlantique, Spie Batignolle and, on the Egyptian side, the Arab Contractors. Earth works are due to start at the end of this year with completion scheduled for 1986.

The aim of the new underground is to take the traffic load off the buses which currently account for 75 percent of public transport traffic. When the underground is completed, it is expected to take 30 percent of the load, handling some 6,000 to 7,000 passengers an hour, ten times the bus rate.

## Big Help

Stage two of the project will involve the construction of an entirely new, completely underground line running from Shubra el-Kheima in the north through Ramses and Ataba in the centre and then westward under the Nile to Dokki, which will be the interchange station for the line to Upper Egypt.

A third stage will be another new, fully underground line for Imbaba in the north-west, running across Zamalek and eastwards under the Nile to Old Cairo.

Securing financing for these later stages is still a long way off so that they remain dreams for a long time to come, though, according to economists, such dreams will not be hard to bring true in view of the expectations of the country's stability and development under peace.--GSS.

CSO: 4500/51

## TRANSPORT PLAN LAID OUT

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 30 Oct 81 p 2

[Text] A long and short range national policy to develop transport has been prepared to meet the needs of development in all fields, the Minister of Transport and Communications, Mr Soliman Metwalli told the Dry Goods Transport Conference in Alexandria yesterday.

He said that this policy which has been sanctioned by the Cabinet was translated into working programmes and timetables for implementation according to the plan laid down by the Ministry of Transport.

The plan included the development of the Egyptian commercial fleet through strengthening the state-owned Navigation Company and diversifying its activities, he added.

The Company will be provided with new modern ships so as to be able to cope with the growing maritime transport movement which followed the application of the open door policy, he said.

He added that another company was established for this purpose, namely, the National Company for Navigation which started its activity by transporting grains previously transported by foreign ships.

Mr Metwalli stressed that another company would be established in the coming few months which will increase the capacity of the commercial fleet in dealing with foreign trade and maritime transportation.

### Encourage

The state, meanwhile, encourages individuals and private companies to own ships raising the Egyptian flag so as to add to the capability of Egyptian ships to compete with foreign commercial fleets, he said.

He added that the plan also included developing ports and raising their capacities in addition to building new ports to increase their transport capabilities by nearly fifty percent by 1985 while expansion projects in old ports would continue.

The plan in the same time provides for securing skilled maritime labour force through raising the efficiency of the existing labourers or employing new ones who are well trained and able to deal with modern ships, he said.

He added that this was carried out in cooperation with the Arab Academy for Maritime Transport.--MEN

CSO: 4500/51



PAPER DISCUSSES SOVIET 'PERMANENT MARCH TOWARDS IRAN'

Paris IRAN LIBRE in French 2 Nov 81 pp 1-2

[Text] A vast propaganda campaign has been orchestrated these days in the Iranian press, emphasizing the trip made by important delegations of the Islamic republic to countries controlled by Moscow.

The trip to North Korea by Parliament President Rafsanjani (together with his family) and the participation of a parliamentary delegation in the conference in Cuba are especially emphasized.

The broad range given to this "information" campaign makes us think that a new phase has been reached in the permanent march of the Soviets toward Iran. Through intermediaries, the Kremlin wants to draw the Islamic Republic into its net.

The process of USSR interference in Iran has involved the following:

1. Encouragement of subversion whose final outcome was the downfall of the shah.
2. Encouragement to the usurper regime when it ordered the mass executions of high officials of the monarchy and military commanders.
3. Ever closer ties with the Khomeyni regime and the Tudeh Party and the agents of other so-called left-wing parties, both Iranian and Lebanese, Palestinian, Afghan, etc.
4. Machinations intended to cut Iran off from the free world and to isolate it politically, economically, and socially (the American hostage affair, etc.).
5. Neutralization, within the Islamic Republic, of less violent elements and elimination of all individuals suspected of sympathies for the West.
6. Enfeoffment of Iran to the East Bloc through massive sales of food products, weapons, industrial equipment, and other manufactured products to the Khomeyni system.
7. Massive infiltration of extreme left-wing agents in the mass media, schools and education (there is practically no more higher education) and in national security.

8. Understanding between the republic of the mullahs and the vassals of Moscow, such as Syria, Libya, South Yemen, Cuba, and North Korea.

9. Establishment of a social structure modeled on the communist system: rationing of current consumption products, nationalization of information media, creation of a national snooping network, prohibition of trips abroad, confiscation of property and limitation on private property, government control over commerce and housing.

Thus we find that all the elements necessary for the establishment of a regime totally loyal to the Kremlin in Iran are now present, waiting for the time after Khomeyni. After the phony imam has vanished--politically or physically--the transfer of power to the Marxists could take place without any trouble in a country where the agents of the Soviet Union already control all leading positions and where all precautions were taken to prevent any challenge and to bar any opposition.

The merits of Marxist society are already being praised to the Iranians and an attempt is being made to snuff out the traditional suspicions of a nation that never had any sympathy for the doctrine of Lenin. The reports published on the occasion of the trip of Islamic leaders to communist countries are highly revealing: all of them glorify the "liberty," the "prosperity," and the "happiness" which the peoples liberated from capitalist oppression enjoy. A society of the Cuban or North Korean type is proposed to our fellow citizens as the ideal.

Our struggle henceforth will enlarge its field of action. Khomeyni is the absolute evil and after him, unfortunately, things will perhaps be even worse. If we do not watch out, his death will lead to the abyss. But this fight is not only our fight; it is also the fight of the entire free world which Soviet imperialism threatens as much as it threatens us.

If Iran had not been destabilized, Afghanistan undoubtedly would not have been invaded. Today, it is not only by delivering weapons to Saudi Arabia and Iraq that one can save the region but rather by aiding Iran in moving away from the abyss. One must cure the disease at its roots, one must put out the fire where it has been lit.

Antoine de Saint-Exupery said: "When the animals you put in a stable die, one after the other, do not bend over them to seek the cause of the disease. Burn your stable." La Citadelle

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CS0:4619/16

RAFSANJANI ACCUSED OF SALE OF 'STOLEN' OBJECTS OF ART

Paris IRAN LIBRE in French 2 Nov 81 p 4

[Text] Correspondence from Teheran informs us that there has just been an unlawful transfer of art objects stolen from the imperial palaces in Iran. This transfer was carried out by Rafsanjani, the president of the Islamic parliament, himself.

Among the objects in question there is a pendulum clock and two statues, both made of gold, that belonged to the family of the tsar of Russia. These highly valuable objects had been purchased in Europe by the Iranian government on the occasion of the wedding of the Shah with Princess Soraya. A Swiss merchant had served as middleman.

Following the events of February 1979 and the sacking of the palace, the son of ayatollah Montazeri, better known under the name of Ringo and famous for his zeal in the matter of "confiscation" of art objects, had put his hand on these objects. At the end of lengthy negotiations, he turned them over to Rafsanjani. In exchange, he received two very big old carpets also coming from the royal palace plus the sum of 5 million Rials (about Fr 130,000). The objects were then turned over to Rafsanjani's sister.

This lady accompanied her brother on an official voyage to North Korea. On that occasion, the art objects were taken out of Iran in official baggage. Thus there was no reason to go through customs.

All items then were sent to Europe from an airport in the Far East under the cover of the official trip. As president of parliament and by virtue of the 12 October decision of Khomeyni, Mr Rafsanjani is the man who must henceforth decide the destinies of our people. Any further comment is superfluous.

(Source: Exclusivite Iran Libre)

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CSO:4619/17

RAFSANJANI CLAIMS 'WAVE OF INTERNAL TERRORISM' IS BROKEN

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 8 Nov 81 p 1

[Text] Tehran--A tough and dangerous wave of internal terrorism has been broken. Hojjatoleslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, Tehran's provisional Friday Prayer leader said yesterday at Friday prayers held at the Tehran University Campus for over 2 million people, who were commemorating Imam Hussein's martyrdom yesterday.

On Imam Hussein's martyrdom Rafsanjani said that martyrdom as a reality required the presence of a number of factors. The first of these he said was that the cause in which the martyrdom was accomplished should not represent a movement for absolute truth, not a movement impelled by worldly desires, or material advancement. He added that the more a movement tended towards such objectives the more success it would have in the course of history.

Rafsanjani then said that the personality who launches a movement against the established order counted a great deal in reckoning martyrdom in its correct aspect. "Not everyone who revolted qualified for this honor", he said. "It was a vital for the leader to be a representative of total truth in a righteous movement and it is only such a person who gives up his life in its cause deserves the title of martyrdom," Rafsanjani explained.

A third factor which marked out a martyr was the fact of the type of adversary against which or whom he led the movement in the cause of righteousness. "The more corrupt the establishment, or the personality against whom the martyr leads an uprising, the greater is the quality of martyrdom" the prayer leader said.

Then, speaking of the Mujahedin Khalq Organization (MKO) members, Rafsanjani said "these hypocrites had planned a series of operations on Ashura (the martyrdom of Imam Hussein) through which they aimed at presenting themselves as the true Mujahids and followers of Imam Hussein, while showing up the Islamic Republic to be like the regime of Bani Ummayyads.

"These youths should consider whom they are fighting against. They should examine their own personalities and ask themselves what their objectives really are," the Friday Imam said. "What are their goals? Do they ask who it is who are following the rightful goals? Is it people such as Bakhtiar, Gen. Oveissi, Banisadr, US exploiters, Ashraf and Reza Pahlavi or is it the oppressed people and youths who become martyrs on the battlefields, who are following the right goals?" he asked.

Next, focussing on social and current affairs the prayer leader said that the efforts of the Revolutionary Guards, Committees, the Revolutionary Prosecutor-General and popular support had all led to the back of a very tough and dangerous wave of internal terrorism being broken.

He lauded the enthusiasm of people who had responded so heartily to the call by revolutionary organs to join the battlefronts. He said that with such vast enthusiasm and popular support, together with the strong positions of the Islamic Forces at the fronts, the fruits of victory were at hand. "After this," he said, "the nation should prepare for the vital task of reconstruction."

Rafsanjani, in another part of his sermon said that without the help of experts the vital task of reconstruction would not be possible.

He said that economic officials of the Supreme Economic Council had put together plans for the revival of the country's economy, defining the limits of private wealth and investments, and future government plans for the distribution of goods through cooperatives.

"With the clarification of these limits, the people should be able to know what they can do with their wealth in order to help the reconstruction of the country", he said.

"The people have to feel some security. Their future has to be clarified. The private sector has to know where it can work. I also announce to the experts that once the hands of the terrorists have been cut from this country and once Iraqi and American aggression ceases against us, the fields will be open for their activities," he added.

Rafsanjani also said that experts and technocrats have come to realize that they can serve the nation only by moving in the stream of the current of the Islamic Revolution and Imam's line.

CSO: 4600/128



# NEW PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER SAID TO BE BROTHERS

Paris IRAN LIBRE in French 2 Nov 81 pp 3, 4

[Text] The foreseeable approval of the appointment--by Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic--of Mir Hoseyn Musavi for the job of prime minister was received with a general outcry of indignation by Iran exile circles. This reaction is explained by the close kinship between the new prime minister and the head of state: they are brothers. Furthermore, a third brother is sitting in parliament and a fourth one is assigned to a "diplomatic" post in Paris. One of their sisters is also sitting in parliament under the name of Rahnavard; she also runs an Islamic women's magazine. the revolution, which claimed to do away with oligarchies, is itself becoming dynastic and puts its brand on undertaking of imposition and demagoguery.

Furthermore, the Musavi-Khamene'i brothers are known to have been members of the Tudeh, the Iranian CP in the pay of Moscow.

Seied Ali Khamene'i, the one-armed president of the Islamic Republic, was never more than a marginal mullah, more inclined to frequent the terrorist circles in Lebanon and the Palestinian training camps rather than concerning himself with theological problems.

As for the former foreign affairs minister who became prime minister, Mir Hoseyn, he has been in the news in recent months because, on the one hand, he was snubbed by Qadhdhafi at the last meeting of the Rejection Front and, on the other hand, because at that same meeting he rechristened the Persian Gulf as Islamic Gulf. His latest initiative as of now consists in proposing--with the possible alliance of Pakistan--a plan designed to resolve the Afghan crisis. This plan calls for the systematic removal of the big Western powers. The Islamic revolution is increasingly inclining toward the east. Let us recall its big slogan: "Neither to the East, nor to the West." (sources: Archives Iran Libre; Radio islamique 28-29 October.)

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CS0:4619/17

MOJAHEDIN-E KHALQ SAID TO HAVE SUFFERED HEAVY BLOWS

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 9 Nov 81 pp 1, 2

[Article by Seyyed Hoseyn Musavian]

[Text]

AFTER the issuance of the politico-military communique of the Mujahedin Khalq Organization (MKO) and their announcement of the armed revolt against the Islamic Republic of Iran, terroristic actions shaped up all over the country. As a result of these terroristic actions a number of distinguished Islamic leaders were martyred.

For about a month now the terroristic actions of the MKO appear to have decreased considerably and relative security is now on the way to being established in the country.

But what was the reason for the armed revolt of the MKO and what is the reason for the present retreat of this organization?

The great Shaitan U.S. during the three years of the newly-established Islamic Republic of Iran has resorted to all kinds of conspiracies in order to eradicate this Revolution and we can dare to say that all the intelligence organizations and sabotage organizations of the U.S. have plotted against the Islamic Republic and have done more dastardly damage than all that these subversive organizations have done from the time of their establishment.

After the ousting of Banisadr and the disappointment of the U.S. for penetration into the executive organs of the Revolution and their failure in forcing Iran to a compromise in the Iraqi imposed war, the great Shaitan thought that it was time to perpetrate internal chaos through the terrorising of distinguished personnel of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. The imposed Iraqi war was intensified and so were the economic boycotts. To the U.S. this looked like the proper time to implement its plot and the MKO of the U.S. issued its politico-military communique on Khordad 30th of the Iranian year 1360.

The U.S. which had succeeded in forming an organization within the Leftist and rightist local

forces, after the ousting of Banisadr, the man in charge of this U.S. affiliated organization, the MKO took the responsibility for enacting the U.S. plots for terror and bomb explosions.

Undoubtedly, the MKO was not able to carry out all these plots by itself and all the SAVAK experts who were trained in Israel and U.S., the Communist Leftists and other splinter groups for reasons acted under the banner of MKO for two reasons.

Firstly, the MKO claimed to be an Islamic Organization and secondly, the imperialists with their widespread propaganda tried to introduce this organization as a strong force against the Islamic Republic regime and in this way all the criminal organizations such as the CIA, MOSAD and their puppet pawns could commit all kind of crimes under the cloak of this so-called Islamic MKO.

But more on the issue of the present situation of MKO in Iran.

At present more than 90% of the members and sympathizers of the MKO are arrested and more than 90% of these deceived affiliates of the MKO have realized their wrong doings and have repented as well. And people have realized this through their confession in televised interviews, or the letters written by them from inside the prisons. Of course we should remind you here that the Imperialist mass-media did not mention the confessions at all. The Communist splinter group of PAYKAR which operated under the name of MKO is almost totally destroyed and its members arrested.

The dreadful blow dealt on MKO in their contest with the Islamic Republic of Iran was inflicted on them by the people who forced them to leave the scene for a while. The MKO has lost more than 90% of its organization in this contest with the people. In fact the 36 million member information network of Iran was the only thing that this organization did not count on, and this indeed was the main reason for their eradication. But the cause for the retreat of the remaining 10% of U.S. affiliates under the name of MKO is due to the following reasons:

- 1- Reorganization, because they lost their organizations in most of the cities.

- 2- Identification of the characters and their locations for further terroristic and bomb explosion attempts.

- 3- Revision for the reformation of all the forces that were organized before. Today, after deadly blows inflicted on all the splinter groups which were formed at the time of ousted Banisadr, they have come together to analyse their situation in order to act jointly or separately against the Isla-

mic Republic for a better outcome.

4- To look for an opportunity to receive financial aid from all the espionage forces of U.S., Europe and other global enemies.

5 - Pretending that terror and explosion has ended so that the nation and Islamic characters may forget about lurking dangers and lift the strict security measures, as a result of which they will obtain the opportunity to raid them again freely.

But we should say that our nation have learned lessons from the crimes committed by the splinter U.S. and Israel affiliated groups and are well aware and alert about them. Of course this does not mean that we will not suffer more terroristic actions as well as explosion, but every single one of such crimes committed by these splinter groups will make way for eradicating completely the remaining 10% of these mercenaries.

CSO: 4600/126

MOJAHEDIN-E KHALQ CLAIMED TO BE 'LIQUIDATED'

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 20 Oct 81 pp 1, 2

[Text] "The heroic operations of the 'Girl from Shiraz' who set on fire a bus carrying 30 passengers and in turning a 'reactionary' child passenger to charcoal was carried out successfully!!"

Yet another news item appears about a Vahed Company bus carrying 30 passengers, which was set on fire, causing a number of injuries and turning one or two children to charcoal. This is at least the 30th bus which has been the target of anti-imperialist and anti-people troublemakers' machineguns and "cocktails" so far. In our view the latest acts of the Mojahedin, specially the setting of the Vahed bus on fire, confirms that the organization is in disarray and whatever is left of it is not an organization, but only bands, assorted gangs and sick on-the-run individuals. To understand this reality better, some preliminary elaboration is necessary.

Any guerrilla operation normally and generally operates on two basic principles: the goal of the operation and the tactics of carrying out the operation. It goes without saying that a partisan group, particularly one which claims to be the people's vanguard, must fully study and consider all factors and angles involved in a planned attack against a specific goal: for instance a military post, a military headquarters, a government official and the like. The goal of an operation must be so clear, specific and clear-cut as to leave no doubt as to the choice which, being the center of a concentrated attack, would be a loud, clear and swift message of concrete action for the people. The people would thus relate to the operation of a guerrilla group as an act of their own or of the masses.

At the same time the operational tactics of members of a group must have been prepared with total coordination of timing and operation as well as care, efficiency and speed. The least mistake may be their last. So it is that the least carelessness or lack of success in any of the abovementioned requirements is considered a weakness and a great danger for the group involved in the action.

Hand-written papers and reports found recently in group hideouts of troublemakers show that the heads and responsible individuals of the rat holes are also more or less aware of the internal weakness and disgrace of the organization. Their operational reports are replete with statements of weakness and wretched conditions. As the saying goes the wailing has reached a stage that the mortician has joined the mourning!



Before quoting from such secret reports we would like to judge their overt operations according to standards accepted by all such groups so it will become clear why we say the organization has disintegrated.

Pay heed. Both the goal and operational tactics chosen by the Mojahedin for their so-called heroic actions are the most idiotic of goals and tactics. There is no orderly process, no timing and operational coordination, no popular base, no message and no common sense.

The "target" they have picked is neither a military post, a military headquarters, a government official, some important industrial center or the like. Their goal is the bus. At first we were under the impression buses were being burned because the troublemaking leaders of the organization considered doubledeckers as symbols of class society but we saw that regular buses were not immune from Mojahedin's revolutionary liquidation. You saw and we saw what negative effect the setting on fire of more than 20 buses has had against the Mojahedin and how angered the suffering and long delay-facing bus riders became against these weaklings and "the foolish thieves who mistakenly raid the hay barn." We thought if there is any kind of an organization, and system or administration still functioning or any channel of authority still in force, the brilliant results of these amazing operations would have been assessed and a stop put to bus burning!

But the exploit of the girl from Shirazi--the militia or an organization member in Shiraz if you will--well proved that the abovementioned "ifs" are negative and there is no substance to them! May that fantastic organization with all its claims, bluff and bluster and prancings rest in peace. The Shiraz operation showed that the guts of the organization are in disarray and the late "Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization of Iran" has been dead for some time now! A bunch of members, supporters and sympathizers are still around like a dispersed flock. Have you seen dispersed wolves and hyenas, especially when a few remaining ones are trying to escape from the lion?

The choice of buses as operational targets is a stupid move but still more stupid and laughable are the tactics used by the gentlemen, or should we say ladies. They wanted to set a bus on fire by using a so-called new tactic. This time two terrorists get on the bus as passengers and suddenly jumped guerrilla fashion from their back seats, shouting: "Driver stop, a bomb has been planted by them on the vehicle." This was intended to acquit them before the passengers so that they could not complain later that they had not been warned. The two militia or the two heroic members who at the same time were concerned over the waste of time and the possibility of failure, left the bus by the rear door soon after making the announcement which was really intended to cause passengers to rush toward the front door and leave the back door free for carrying out the operation on the run!

Our discouraged and frankly pale heroes nonetheless manage to throw cocktails and incendiary material through the rear door (as recounted by an injured person whose child had also suffered body burns), considering themselves in the roles of Mehdi Reza'i and Fatemeh Amini. The pressurized air caused by the explosions forced the doors to close. The people burned behind the shut doors and an innocent but "reactionary" child was burned to a crisp by the fire of revolutionary ire.

This is the sum total of the heroic operations of this kind of organization possessing all those folders, books and claims that, for example, it has all operational experience at its finger tips, that it is leading the attack and similar rubbish.

You should ask anyone with the least information or experience concerning guerilla operations and fighting how does the recent operations of the troublemakers, which have turned them into flintstones, particularly the exploit of their girl from Shiraz, tally with the simplest and the most common principles and rules of such fighting?

Don't these operations show that not only has the body of the Mojahedin organization lost its organic cohesion but that its members and supporters are disarrayed, decayed and rotting? Perhaps only a few terrorist acts and explosion may still be carried out through a chain of command and perhaps the Mojahedin may have their hearts in only some of these exploits carried out by their influenced agents and terrorist lackies. Otherwise many of the terrorist acts and mass killings are indicative of disarray and disintegration!

According to notes and handwritten reports found recently in group hideouts, the gentlemen have issued orders that during an operation every terrorist is a commander! In reality, this means, multiplied confusion!

It stands to reason that in every "heroic" operation the troublemakers set sufficient number of tactics and forward and escape routes for those involved in the operation. Everyone issues an order and takes to heel.

Such is the fate of that hard-as-steel and forward looking organization with that special and complicated democratic centralism which wanted, like Saddam, to conquer the domestic front, in 2 or 3 days, with Rajavi's Qadesiyeh.

5854

CSO: 4640/39

'GLOBAL COLONIALISM' BLAMED FOR 'SEPARATION OF RELIGION, POLITICS' NOTION

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 4 Nov 81 pp 1, 4

[Article by Seyyed Hoseyn Musavian]

[Text]

ONE billion Moslems of the world are suffering from discord poverty and dependence. This is a fact while these people have the best natural resources on the globe. They are mostly under the economic and military dominance of the Western or Eastern Superpowers, when they possess the richest culture and religion in the world. But now they are alone with their culture and religion, more lonely and helpless then ever.

If we are really concerned for the establishment of Islam as well as the honour and esteem of the Moslems, we should look into the causes for the abject and lowly state Moslems today find themselves in and attempt to remove these very afflictions.

If you assume that Islam today is that which was given to us by the Prophet Mohammad (SAW), who himself lived it, and committed Moslems follow it as he did, then Moslems today need not have to encounter problems such as the cultural and economic poverty they are faced with today. We must accept that true Islam is not in existence among the followers of Mohammad (SAW), today or we would not find ourselves in such desperate straits.

One of the most important deviations which was seeded in the true Islam by the global colonialism was the "separation between religion and politics. For more than one hundred years now the enemy with all its conspiracies and misleading propaganda, has succeeded in persuading most Moslems in the world that "religion" is separate from "politics." In the Islam of Mohammad (SAW) politics and religion are inseparable from each other. The Messenger of Islam after his flight from Mecca to Medina (Hijrat) formed a government and the formation of a government is the most essential issue in politics.

But, the Prophet (SAW) formed his govern-

ment which is a symbol of politics in the "mosques," a symbol of "religion" and "worship" and not in palaces and castles. He formed his government in the same Mosque in which he prayed everyday and from which he called all the selfish rulers of the world to Islam while predicting that their governments would face decadence and decline otherwise.

'Bilal' the favorite Muezzin of Mohammad (SAW) did not only call the people to prayer, he also called the people to Mosques for Jihad (Holy war in the cause of God) when he called the Azan. During our stay in Medina, some of the brothers tried to meet the prayer Imam of Al-Nabi Mosque in order to discuss the difficulties of the Moslems with him. But unfortunately, they were told that a week before the arrival of the Moslems of the world in Mecca, all the prayer Imams had received letters from the Shah Khalid regime in which the prayer Imams were advised not to contact anybody.

Today, the person who prays in the same place as the Prophet (SAW) did years ago and spent his days and nights in solving the problems of the Moslems, is prohibited from contacting Moslems from other parts in the world. Where Shah Khalid is king and is in charge of politics and prayers in the Prophet's Mosque then such occurrences are only to be expected.

The Prophet of Islam (SAW) after the formation of the "Islamic Government" as the greatest political achievement, took over the government's affairs himself and led the whole community. He considered his interference in political affairs a Divine duty. Jihad and struggle against hypocrites and infidels are the most outstanding features in the life of the Messenger of God and these are only examples from the life of the Prophet of Islam. These are the indications of the fact that the Prophet believed in political leadership, the same as the religious leadership, and he took charge of them both.

And today if we want the establishment of the Mohammad's Islam, we should entrust the political leadership of our societies and countries to one who is also the religious leader. And this magnificent fact has only come to reality in the Islamic country of Iran and Imam Khomeini as a person who studied Islam for 70 years as the religious Marj'a and the religious leader of the Moslems, has accepted the responsibility for the political leadership, formation of the Islamic Government as well as the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces.

Our Friday prayer Imam is the same as our president and our mosques the base for arming people for Jihad in the cause of God against Saddam, the chained dog of U.S. and Zionists. This pattern should be followed till the deliverance of the Moslems.

God Willing

## PROGRESS REPORTED IN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

### Increased Production

Tehran BURS in Persian 28 Sep 81 p 7

[Interview with Mohammad Salamati, minister of agriculture and rural development]

[Text] Mohammad Salamati, minister of agriculture and rural development, in a special interview with the reporter of the PARS NEWS AGENCY, in announcing the aforementioned subject, released information and statistics about the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development and its related departments.

First, in pointing out the rightfulness of the Islamic forces in the war between right and wrong he said, "The war that we are now engaged in is against the supercilious world and America, because this war has precisely started in connection with God's path and futileness with the leadership of America and its lackey Saddam who do not want to accept this path."

Then, Mohammad Salamati, in regard to the result of the war, added, "Of course the war has caused losses, but as a whole, this war was a blessing for us, and this is not flattering, and I am not saying it for encouragement. It really has been like a rainfall for our nation and has created the necessary concordance among our forces, and in regard to the economic pressures, has caused more resistance and has increased the spirit of sacrifice and we can see this all over Iran clearly at the present time. We see how our youth are competing with each other in going to the war front and the blessing of becoming a Martyr."

The Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development added, "Of course, in the agricultural sector, more than 2 million hectares of our agricultural land is unsafe and has become practically unfit for production, but we saw plainly that this fact caused our farmers in the other areas to increase their activities. The authorities and the various departments of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development increased their activities several times and the statistics for agricultural products for this year has been exceptional. In spite of the war, agricultural production has been unprecedented and it has boosted the morale of our brother farmers and their cooperation with the government at different levels, including the sale of their products to the Ministry of Agriculture which has been appreciative in a way that it has curtailed the hands of the middlemen in most areas. Our farmers have acted on behalf of themselves and the nation." Mohammad Salamati said this about the efforts of the Ministry of Agriculture in connection with aid



to the war front, "Our brothers and sisters of this Ministry have done everything in their power to help the front technically, financially and with their lives, and have been able to dispatch a group to the war front, and we have had a few martyrs and several of the enemy have been captured. Regarding the settlement of the war refugees, we have been able to settle over 100,000 in the different areas of Khuzestan, in offices, agricultural and industrial institutions of Haft-Tapeh and Karun and semi-finished houses and we even have hired some of our war refugee brothers temporarily in the related departments of the Ministry of Agriculture in Karaj. The cash aid of this ministry has been mostly put at the disposal of the war refugee affairs and among these are noticeable number of transportation vehicles like Jeeps, Landrovers, etc. which have also been put at the disposal of military units. A number of ambulances and refrigerator trucks have been taken from fish factories and meat organizations and placed at the disposal of the War Refugees Foundation, the Army, and the guards corps.

"In this regard, a number of trucks and machinery needed by the Army like water tankers, radios, clothes, lump sugar, tea, fruit, and other foodstuffs have been given to this foundation."

The Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, in regard to measures taken by the ministry dealing with job possibilities for the war refugees said, "The agriculture committee established in the War Refugees Foundation, has performed worthwhile activities, and from a financial point of view a large amount of land in Jiroft has been given for cultivation and a great many machines have been put at their disposal."

About the problems of cattle raisers and the circumstances of settling them in safer areas he said, "We have transferred around one and a half million stray cattle at the beginning of the war to safe areas, and in this regard around 25 equipped veterinary units have cooperated closely. Most of these operations have been carried out under the hail of machine gun fire. Certainly, we have lost a number of cattle during the transfer and also, due to the shortage of oil products like motor oil, the engines of a number of agricultural machines have burned out. We have suffered losses like that, but altogether, in comparison with the movements and activities directed by the agricultural division for production those losses have been trivial. For example, the production to fish before the war was 3,000 tons; since the war and at the present time it has reached 30,000 tons all of which has been placed at the disposal of the armed forces."

The Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development in regard to the statistics of wheat purchase and land under cultivation since the war said, "Last year, around 230,000 tons of wheat was purchased around the country, and it reached 760,000 tons this year. This indicates the high production and cooperation of our beloved farmers with the Ministry of Agriculture and also the efficiency and increased activity of the various departments of the Ministry of Agriculture. Despite the imposed war and because of this fact, more than 2 million hectares of our farmland has not been cultivated; still I can say that we saved 420 million dollars in purchasing wheat and this is a result of increased wheat growth in some provinces. For example, in the province of Kordestan, we had a growth rate of between 700 to 800 percent relative to last year, and in other provinces like West Azarbaijan it was 70 percent, in Khuzestan 30 to 40 percent. Other provinces had noticeable increases in wheat purchases due to providing loans on time and the distribution

of twice as many seeds as last year." He added, "In regard to other products like cotton, we had an increase of 70 percent production compared to last year and this year the purchase and distribution network of products has worked better and more accurately."

About the implementation of paragraphs J and D of the Land Distribution Law he added, "Of course, in the beginning of the war all plans were in disarray and implementing the laws were temporarily halted, but a few months after the imposed war and with regard to the security of the nation and in order to curtail the hands of the plunderers, it was necessary that the Islamic land distribution laws again be discussed in Majlis. The mentioned law has not been excluded from the government's agenda and the imposed war was one of the reasons that it is now possible to implement the law [sic]."

The Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development added this at the end of the interview, in the form of a message, "Likewise God has said in the Koran: 'Difficulties and calamities that descend and fall on the nation must not be dealt with weak morale but must be met as kind of a test from God, in order to mold us. God wants this revolution to develop and find its way toward a society based on salvation and the sovereignty of Allah. To our farmer brothers on the occasion of a new agricultural year, I have to say that with increasing faith to continue cultivating since the government is supporting them whole-heartedly and they must know that increasing the level of production is one of the economic guarantees and is guaranteeing our Islamic Revolution."

#### Rural Road Network Expanded

Tehran BURS in Persian 29 Sep 81 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Mohammad Hadinezhad Hoseyniyan, minister of roads and transportation]

[Text] The Minister of Roads, in an interview said: "Of 12,400 kilometers of rural roads, 8,200 are presently built."

Mr Mohammad Hadinezhad Hoseyniyan, the minister of roads and transportation, yesterday in a press, radio and TV interview, spoke about the activities of that ministry since the revolution up to the present including its actions in relation to the problems of the war and the difficulties resulting from the war and pointed out that it is 1 year after the attack of America's Sadam on the Islamic country of Iran and during this time, the nation has tolerated any kind of possible calamity and disaster. Then he said, "During this war, although we have suffered extensive damages and lost excessive material and human forces we also have achieved progress. Our army, almost empty-handed, was able to fight an army that is supported by all the superpowers and with God's will and with the power of faith and reliance on God we will become victorious."

The Minister of Roads and Transportation in continuing his interview pointed out the problems of road construction and maintenance and said, "In road construction a series of national projects containing freeways, main and secondary roads between provinces and secondary and rural roads within the provinces is budgeted in

the national projects paid by the central government. In regard to freeways, it must be mentioned that in principle the freeway project is designed with regard to the country's economic plan.

In the previous regime, most of the plans were inhuman and correlated with anti-people and anti-religious purposes.

For example, it was agreed to construct a road from Astara to Gorgan without attention to the heavy expenses and the heavy traffic which flows from North Azarbaijan to Astara and without considering the priority of roads in constructing a freeway. In fact, the question of priority must be determined. Of course, it is not bad if we have freeways throughout the country, but for a country like Iran, with regard to its expanded and scattered population, basically freeways are not necessary.

"Instead the broadening of roads is better and in this regard an immense network should be established in order to connect all the cities of the country to each other."

The Minister of Roads and Transportation then said, "A few principal plans are being planned and studied in the country including the road of Bushehr-Anzali which in fact connects the north of the country to the south."

The length of this new road is shorter and also connects the deprived points of the country and also the ports to the industrial poles of the country meaning Qazvin and Arak. It also connects Kerman-Quchan in the central part of the country to the northeast.

Regarding interprovincial roads he said, "During the previous regime, some provinces like Kordestan, Khuzestan, or Fars, Kohkiluyeh va Boyer Ahmad and Chahar-Mahal va Bakhtiari were not considered and nothing had been done for them. Some studies have been done in this regard; for example the Esfahan-Khuzestan highway which passes via Kohkiluyeh and Chahar-Mahal va Bakhtiari Province and secondary roads inside the provinces and villages was started after the revolution and the Ministry of Roads has put all its efforts into these roads."

The problem that the Ministry of Roads is faced with in building roads is the flow of traffic from inside the big cities. Studies have been done in this connection. For example, to connect the Qom road from Hassan Abad to Sharif Abad, and this will reduce the traffic flow between Azarbaijan and Esfahan. The other road is Karaj to Eshtehard which connects with the Saveh road without entering Tehran anymore. The other problem is the country's customs, where some goods come via Jolfa from eastern Russia to western Russia and then enter from the Jolfa border. In this case, if the connecting roads of Bajgiram customs and Lotfabad are built, the route will be shorter and the transport of cargo to the country will be easier."

He then referred to work in progress and work completed and said, "In progress are 400 kilometers of freeways, 53 kilometers of main roads, 4,400 kilometers of secondary roads, 3,700 kilometers of secondary regional roads, and 12,400 kilometers of rural roads of which, up to now nearly 8,200 kilometers of its construction has been completed and the rest is in the process of being built. The budget

of the Ministry of Roads in regard to the national projects was 98 million rials in the past year, and has been absorbed in this manner." Regarding the war, the Minister of Roads and Transportation said, "In this regard, up to now, human resources, including mechanics, drivers, technical supervisors and welders have been dispatched to the war front."

He then said, "We have active and experienced forces for road construction in Iran but they lack capital. In this case, it is agreed to attract young resources throughout the country and provide them with capital. In this regard various projects are in the process of planning and the Ministry of Roads has procured machinery and if it is to the interest of the government, it will put them at the disposal of this group. Since the revolution, the import of machinery has been trivial and we had shortages of spare parts. We have taken some measures in this regard. The important problem is the perception of the facts. At the present time we have a shortage of 250,000 to 300,000 kilometers of roads, but the maximum road construction with existing resources is 500 kilometers this year. Therefore, with the present resources, it will take 50 years to construct the needed roads. We have arranged some meetings in this regard in order to disembark on a new system of road construction for the country.

"The other problem is supplies. For example, to supply cement and asphalt we have made a committee responsible to distribute the basic material for the projects of the ministries.

"I have to mention here, we have an organization called the organization for the expansion of the country's roads, but that unfortunately this year due to the condition of machinery, it has not been active. God willing, we will put into action a plan so that in the future this organization could be run like a province. The Ministry of Roads, with its present machinery, is not able to keep the roads well maintained. For this purpose, we have placed some orders and hope they will arrive very soon.

The most successful program we have had so far has been with the Reconstruction Crusade. For example, for the construction of the Tehran-Qom highway, this ministry signed a contract with the crusade for the construction of two sections. Thirty kilometers remain to be completed in the coming month.

About the country's railroad system the Minister of Roads said, "at the present time the total railway including main and secondary lines is 4,500 kilometers. At present, there is a weakness in power. In this connection, it is planned to import 20 locomotives from the USSR, which will arrive in the coming month. We have rented 20 units and purchased 50 from Romania. Eight units have been purchased from Sweden, which will be delivered in March-April 1982. Twenty units will be delivered by Yugoslavia at the same time. In total we have rented 50 and purchased 78 units.

Arrangements have been made for these locomotives to have spare parts for as long as they last. For training purposes, 260 people will be sent to Romania so that we will not have technical, mechanical and spare parts problems.

The Minister of Roads, in regard to the activities of the Ports and Shipping Organization said, "Before the war, 688 piers were in operation, and from this



number, 19 piers were in Khorramshahr and Abadan which are still standing. Thirty-three piers are still semi-erect in the Imam Khomeyni Port and in general we have tried to utilize the maximum capacity."

#### Fodder Imports

Tehran BURS in Persian 29 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Ahmad Hoseyn Samimi, chief of the Pasture Development Fund]

[Text] Ahmad Hoseyn Samimi, chief of the Pasture Development Fund in an interview said, "Fodder imports this year have reached 1.75 million metric tons." Distribution of fodder and chicken feed hereafter will be based on the production of cattle raisers and poultry farms and the amount of imported fodder and chicken feed in the current year will be 1.75 million tons.

In the current year for the first time the produced fodder in the country will be purchased by the Pasture Development Fund and will be distributed."

Ahmad Hoseyn Samimi, chief of the Pasture Development Fund, in a special interview with the reporter of the PARS NEWS AGENCY in announcing the subject, described the policies of the previous regime in relation to this fund. He said, "As a result of previous policies, this fund was merely an importer of fodder from outside and in order to produce protein inside we were obliged to import fodder." He added, "Protein is produced in Iran in many ways and among them is the production of white meat based on the establishment of poultry farms and at the present time this industry is dependent on the outside." He added, "At the present time the production of white meat and eggs is approximately 100 percent based on imports which are basically mechanized parts. Milk production, in industrial cattle raising also suffers from the same problem."

Samimi then said, "Securing the fodder for cattle farms and chicken feed is the responsibility of the Pasture Development Fund and from 1980-1981 when foreign trade was carried out by the government, import of fodder has passed from the private sector to the government." He added, "With this plan, the volume of imports of fodder and chicken feed has suddenly increased four times and this duty has been accomplished." Samimi said, "When we say that the Pasture Development Fund is responsible for the import of fodder, it does not mean that it is providing all the needs of the community, but it is providing the shortages of the community's production." He added, "The poultry farm units are generally industrialized and they receive their consumptive materials from us. In the case of industrialized cattle raisers, their most important materials are secured 100 percent by the fund and the remaining imported fodder is used by the traditional and tribal cattle raisers and independent cattle raisers in the villages." Then he added, "About the just distribution of fodder among the cattle raisers, first we have realized that there is a direct relation between the import of chicken feed and chickens and the production of white meat and eggs and also the production of red meat and milk and cattle with the fund's fodder. With these three points in mind, it has been decided to use the number of new-born chicks as the basis for the amount of feed to be distributed. Necessary statistics were gathered in order to regulate import of feed and production of feed internally. Hereafter the import plans will be based on internal shortages." Samimi added, "To continue activities



on this basis, a center called Center for Distribution of New-Born Chicks has been established and it will be obligatory for newborn chick units to give their statistics to this center. This center will distribute its products throughout the country." Samimi said, "The statistics of newborn chicks is given by this center to the fund and based on these statistics, the fund estimates the necessary fodder, and then it notifies the country's ports how much fodder should be delivered to the centers and provinces of the country and the cities."

He added, "The distribution of chicken feed and the delivered amounts to the poultry farms is based on the production of eggs, and for fodder it is based on milk presented to the pasturized milk plant. In other cases the planning is based on production." Samimi said, "This project has prevented the flow of foreign currency out of the country and eliminates probable misuse of funds. It has also reversed the increase in price of newborn chicks from 46 rials to 120 rials back to the same 46 rials for the time being."

Then Samimi, in reference to the import of fodder in the current year said, "This year, like the previous year, we will import around 1.75 million tons of fodder. In the current year, the import of fish meal will be included with those goods that the government must import. We have imported around 150,000 tons of this but we need less than this amount." Samimi said, "With the cooperation of the Economic Mobilization Headquarters, the country's white meat production is delivered to the distribution centers and by this means has been under control. At this time, a more accurate plan is being implemented and an organization called Headquarters for Protein Material is in the process of being established. The duty of this group is to estimate the demand for white meat, red meat, eggs and the necessary fodder according to the needs of the country and to import what is needed and also keep the level of consumption down in the country."

"On the basis of this project, the producers which use the services of the Ministry of Agriculture deliver their products to the centers which are a part of the Ministry of Commerce."

Then he said, "The production of white meat in 1977-78 reached 225,000 tons and this figure in the current year has been 265,000 tons." Samimi said, "The shortage which is seen in Tehran does not exist in the other cities and because of the lack of statistics, the country's level of distribution is irregular." He added, "Tehran needs 4.5 million newborn chicks a month but only 2.5 million are produced in the poultry farms. To eliminate this problem from the month of Aban [23 Oct-21 Nov] and after chicken will be produced on the basis of population, farms, size and the climate of each province until the shortage no longer exists." He added, "We made a quota for barley and the needs of each province is clear to us. In this way there is enough reserve for the provinces and tribes. After the tribes, priority is given to the areas which have difficulty with winter and whose roads are difficult to traverse."

Finally he said, "The production of basic agricultural produce had a noticeable increase this year so that we were able to purchase 4,000 tons of barley domestically and this figure was equal to zero last year. Also, in the current year, for the first time, only domestically produced fodder will be purchased and with this purchase the principal distribution will be accomplished."

HEBRON'S DUDIN SCORES ATTEMPT ON AL-KHATIB'S LIFE

TA191844 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 19 Nov 81

[From the evening newsreel]

[Excerpts] The head of the village association of the Hebron Hills, Mustafa Dudin, reacted this evening for the first time to the assassination attempt to Yusuf al-Khatib, the head of the village association in Ramalla. In an interview with the radio newsreel in Arabic, he said that this type of action would destroy the remains of the Palestinian people. Our correspondent in Judaea and Samaria, Aye Gus, brings us his remarks:

[Gus] The head of the Hebron Hills Village Association sounded angry in his reaction to the attempt to assassinate his Ramalla counterpart. This is an attempt to strangle freedom, he said, and whoever does such things is a terrorist and a murderer.

Mustafa Dudin, whose life has been threatened several times, warned against a repeat performance of the 1936-38 events, when Arab personalities were murdered by rival gangs. The blood that was spilled, Dudin said, will not remain unavenged. The village association, he said, had no political goals; their goals were social and economic. He claims that the murderers came from among the inhabitants of the territories and that the PLO claims were only intended to cover up those operating from the inside and, inter alia, he aimed an accusing finger at newspaper in the area which incite to murder. Dudin is calling on King Husayn to intervene as, at one time, he fought against terrorists and criminals.

CSO: 4423/43

IDF TO USE SIMULATORS FOR TRAINING

TA151356 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 15 Nov 81 p 4

[Report by Beni Baraq]

[Text] "In the near future, the IDF will revert to making greater use of simulators for training some of the army units. This comes as a result of the defense budget cuts." This remark was made last week by the commander of the southern command, Dan Shomron, who was speaking to reserve soldiers after an exercise in the south.

The major general said that the simulators allow for a lot of savings and yet provide results similar to those obtained in training in the field. The simulators are electronic devices that create the effect of conditions as close as possible to the real situation in the battlefield.

At the same time, the general said, the combat echelon will continue to receive full training in the field since combat troops must train in conditions identical to real war conditions, to the extent possible.

The general dismissed arguments raised by unit members that the IDF had already crossed the red line in the level of training of units as a result of cuts in the cope of training. "The easiest way to effect the defense budget cut is to limit the number of reserve days and training," Dan Shomron said, "but the shift to use of simulators will make it possible to save and redirect the sums that have been saved to areas where it is impossible to cut.

The general added that there are people in the army who hold the opposite view to his, but the greater the budget constraints, the more everyone reaches the conclusion that there is no alternative but to adopt the method he is proposing.

CSO: 4423/43

## DAVAR' ON SHARON'S PLAN FOR TERRITORIES

TA131524 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 13 Nov 81 p 13

[Commentary by Hagay Eshed: "The Autonomy According to Sharon"]

[Text] Those worried about events in the territories these days--the curfew, the arrests, the closure of shops, on the one hand, and the shutting of the Bi'r Zayt University and the East Jerusalem papers on the other hand--and those who believe it is sheer craziness, let them cool down. There is method in this madness. There is a plan that could be called "the Sharon plan" for the implementation in stages of the autonomy along various routes of progression simultaneously: military, political, psychological, economic and in terms of settlement.

Ari'el Sharon may be suspect of many things, but not of acting contrary to the plan, even in those cases where it seems that he is shooting from the hip. Not always is he acting according to the plan and in many cases he is indeed shooting from the hip. But not with regard to Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, or, for example, in regard to the settlement plan at which all at first jeered, but no more. It was implemented in full over 4 years. Taking this precedent as a case in point, one can safely assume that the current shock treatments are also part of an over-all scheme.

The fact that there is a long-term plan is not guarantee that the plan is really good, or that it will be implemented. But it exists, and you cannot see that forest for the trees, especially since this is a forest where trees are constantly being planted and cut with mud and wooden chips being flung in all directions. Still, the forest exists. Besides, in order to increase the confusion of some doctrine-shapers from the school of the labor movement, it is necessary to mention that some fundamentals of the plan--albeit not all--were laid down during the Ali government's rule, when Yitzhaq Rabin was prime minister, Shim'on Peres defense minister, Ari'el Sharon the defense minister's adviser and Maj Gen Avraham Tamir the head of the IDF planning branch--the person who was spokesman and executioner of orders of all three, just as he has been with the defense ministers that have served since: 'Ezer Weizman, Menahem Begin and Ari'el Sharon. Some of the things that are being carried out are to a large degree a continuation of what has already been done (and derivations of which are disputed). So, for instance, is the construction of the military and logistic infrastructure, the paving of roads through the length and breadth of Judaea and Samaria: the Alon road, the north and south Trans-Samaria highways as well as building camps, emergency arsenals and other installations

following the lessons learned following the Yom Kippur war. These were done in the style of the way roads were built in the Galilee--one bypassing 'Afula, one bypassing Zefat, one bypassing Tiberias--all of them leading northward. The map of Nahal settlements, military strongholds and civilian outposts along the military traffic routes could be discerned already then. Later, some lines and points that are still under dispute were added to it, but no one questioned the very need to guarantee transportation axes and the possibility for the rapid deployment of the IDF on the eastern front, bearing in mind that the IDF has grown in scope and number of vehicles in a way totally dissimilar to the modest dimensions of the pre 6-day war times. Just taking the number of tanks in the possession of the armies of Jordan, Syria and Iraq into account, plus the aerial and electronic umbrella provided by Saudi Arabia, which includes the AWACS aircraft, the F-15's and all the accompanying ground equipment--all this must show that in the next 4 years and even beyond them there will be no choice but to have full control of the entire network of longitudinal and latitudinal roads crossing Judaea and Samaria, and in having permanent Israeli readiness along the eastern front. All talk about demilitarizing this network is, at best, archaic. According to the "Sharon plan," the IDF units and camps will be located within settlement centers in Judaea and Samaria along these roads, will secure them and be guarded by them as a civilian reserve as part of the area defense. This military-settlement deployment is possible and permitted according to the autonomy agreement (at least insofar as the Israeli interpretation goes) and one may assume that it would be completed in the course of the next few months.

Simultaneously, an effort has been made to establish in Judaea and Samaria a civilian administration that would be separate from the military government. It is opposed by all those elements that shape and influence the conduct of the populations in those areas: first of all the Jordanian Government, which has not given up supervision by those loyal to it and its offices of the education and health services, as well as the PLO and the rejectionist organizations, each of which have positions of influence and control in the public, economic or religious institutions. The question is how to persuade these elements--all of them or at least some of them--that it is not worth their while to object to the establishment of the civilian administration. The question is how to convince them that they will be on the losing side as well as undertake great risks, from all respects, if they continue to object to the civilian administration, whereas if they are incorporated in its establishment they could strengthen their positions in the competition over future influence and power, whether or not an independent state is established--as is their hope--or if there is a 5-year autonomy; whether the Israeli rule continues in the present constellation, or whether the United States succumbs to Saudi appeals and forces Israel to withdraw from Judaea, Samaria and East Jerusalem as per the "Fahd plan."

All three above-mentioned elements: Jordan, the PLO and the rejectionist front--as well as organizations and personalities of local impact, might perhaps be persuaded, in the carrot and stick method, that as far as they are concerned it is better to get used to the constraints of the interim period of continued Israeli control, whose end is not yet known, and call off the boycott or at least accept the establishment of the civilian administration in the areas of the future autonomy. For the purpose of this persuasion the Israeli administration has been applying a thick and heavy stick and has been dealing hard, painful blows. The impression is that the various public figures and elements in the territories are in a state



of shock. If the heavy blows and shock treatment continue, these people will lose their self confidence and are liable to fear tipping the shakey balance among their own rank and file. The supporters of Jordan, the PLO and the rejectionist front will fear losing their position of influence and control at the expense of one another, and all of them will fear losing it for other elements. There is no certainty that this is indeed what will happen, but neither is there certainty that the opposite will occur and, at any rate, all signs indicate that this is the goal of the activities and the shock treatment that are being used without forewarning and in unprecedented force.

This is the stick. The main carrot is, of course, the autonomy talks between Israel and Egypt and the chance that they would terminate in an agreement by the completion of the round of talks in mid-January, as agreed upon between Prime Minister Menahem Begin and late President al-Sadat. True, there is no guarantee that the autonomy talks would end in an Israeli-Egyptian agreement, and the Americans have not been making efforts to help them succeed. On the contrary, the entire "Fahd plan" is intended to torpedo the autonomy talks because it offers the inhabitants of the territories a lot more than autonomy. The "Fahd plan" offers the inhabitants of the territories an independent state at once, as well as a touch of glee: Throwing Israel out with a painful, degrading and dangerous kick without negotiations, without agreement, without mutual concessions. This is the proclaimed purpose of the plan: "To put an end to Israel arrogance." The United States' eyeing of this plan can be regarded by the inhabitants of the territories as U.S. encouragement to not accept the autonomy plan and to not incorporate into the establishment of the civilian administration. Jordan's support of the "Fahd plan" is also undoubtedly aimed at torpedoing the autonomy plan.

At the moment there is a bitter competition between Israel and Jordan, the PLO, the rejectionist front and Saudi Arabia about the implementation of the civilian administration in the territories and about the conduct of the inhabitants of the territories, their institutions and various notables who are under the influence of those four external elements. The United States (and all the more so Europe) has been disturbing Israel in its efforts to guarantee law and order, peace and security in the territories. The Government of Egypt is in a dilemma. It can operate in accordance with the best of its interests and guarantee the preference of the Camp David agreements (including the autonomy plan) over the Saudi "Fahd plan" or any other anti-Egyptian Arab plan. On the other hand, Egypt can recoil from the U.S.-Saudi pressure and join all those who put spokes in the wheels of the autonomy and thus, naturally, in those of the Camp David agreements in their entirety.

This is the second front the autonomy is fighting: the front of the backwater U.S.-European-Saudi sabotage front. The "Sharon plan" has three levels for the implementation of autonomy in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip: creating the Israeli military level, the establishment of the civilian administration and reaching an agreement with Egypt on the authorities of the administrative council and the ways to elect it. To those three levels is added that of "showing muscle" toward the Saudis and the Americans, so that they do not interfere in the Israeli effort to persuade the inhabitants of the territories to stop boycotting the autonomy and the civilian administration.

'HA'ARETZ' REPORTS LAVI PROJECT BUDGET DIFFICULTIES

TA181144 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 18 Nov 81 p 1

[Report by Ze'ev Schiff]

[Text] The "Lavi" Israeli combat aircraft project is currently in question and may be shelved in accord with the defense minister's instruction as a result of defense budget difficulties in financing its development.

The final decision will probably be made in the next few weeks after the framework for the defense budget for the next few years--and particularly for next year--is worked out. It should be noted that in addition to the Israeli aircraft industries, the air force is determined that the Lavi aircraft should be manufactured according to the predetermined plan, which includes the larger, Pratt and Whitney-made, engine.

During the time of 'Ezer Weizman's term as defense minister, the cabinet had decided to develop the new Israeli combat aircraft, the Lavi. Since then millions of dollars have been invested in the development project, most of which as part of the aircraft industries' activities, but the air force and the Defense Ministry also had expenses. After the decision to produce the Lavi was made, the decision on the engine was altered. At first a General Electric engine was considered, but about a year later the air force demanded a larger engine, manufactured by Pratt and Whitney, to be installed in the aircraft. The air force was adamant in its demand because it argued that it will provide the aircraft with greater operational capability and efficiency. According to experts' estimates, this change would have resulted in an addition of approximately 10 percent to the development expenses. The intention is to manufacture the engine in Israel, by license, but if the Lavi project is cancelled, the above issue will also become doubtful.

The doubts regarding the Lavi project resurfaced following the decision to cut the defense budget and due to the difficulties in finding funds for the development of the plane. At present, the evaluations are that this involves about \$1 billion. Originally the plan was to conclude the project by 1991 and make an attempt to save money by manufacturing a smaller number of the prototypes.

Meanwhile, the defense minister had instructed the IDF to present him with a modified proposal of defense budget cuts for the next year and the following ones until 1987.

## BRIEFS

GAZA SOLIDARITY WITH W. BANK--The Gaza Municipality and the town's public institutions have issued a statement of solidarity with Judaea and Samaria. In the statement they express their sympathy concerning the humiliating measures which they say Israel is adopting against the residents of Judaea and Samaria, and they assert that the Palestinian people is one people, in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. The assembled persons called for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under the PLO's leadership. [Text] [TA161819 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 16 Nov 81]

TWO IDF OFFICERS RESIGN--The coordinator of activities in the territories, Maj Gen Dani Mat, is resigning from his post. Our correspondent in the territories, Rafiq Halabi, has learned that yesterday Major General Mat announced his resignation from the post at a meeting of officers in the Ministry of Defense. Major General Mat has sent a letter to the defense minister in which he highly praised their common background in the IDF. The minister of defense summoned Major General Mat to him for a talk and informed him that he was accepting his resignation and asked him to fix the timetable. Our correspondent comments that there have recently been differences of opinion between Major General Mat and the minister of defense over the policy the minister is following in Judaea and Samaria. Our correspondent has also learned that Major General Mat recently stopped dealing with the routine security matters in Judaea and Samaria; the security branch of his office was eliminated. The security branch of his office was eliminated. The coordinator of activities in the territories protested the fact that his post has been drained of power. Col Ya'akov Katz also completed his post today: That of the military commander of the Judaea and Samaria region. Colonel Katz is an expert in affairs of the civilian administration and will be appointed deputy to the head of the civilian administration in Judaea and Samaria, Prof Menahem Milson. [Text] [TA191592 Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 19 Nov 81]

USSR PEACE COMMITTEE INVITATION--A delegation of Knesset members and public figures is scheduled to depart next month on an official visit to the Soviet Union as the guest of the Soviet Peace Committee. The delegation will spend 10 days in the Soviet Union. MK's Tawfiq Zayyad, Yosi Sarid and Avraham Melamed participated in a similar delegation 2 years ago. This time the Soviets extended their invitation to MD's Ora Namir and Rabbi Menahem Hakohen (Labor), to former MK Haya Grossman (MAPAM) and to Da'ud Hanin and Salim Gavarman from Nazareth, who are both RAKAH activists. [Text] [TA181121 Tel Aviv MA'ARTV in Hebrew 18 Nov 81 p 1]

NEW W. BANK SETTLEMENTS--Two new settlements will soon be established in Samaria. One will be set up by the Hatzav settlement nucleus, near the settlement of Na'aleh, in northwest Samaria. The other settlement, Netafim, will be established near Elqana. The two will be established on state land near the existing settlements. [Text] [TA161509 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1500 GMT 16 Nov 81]

INCREASED ROMANIAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION--Romania wants to increase economic cooperation with Israel, especially through penetration into spheres such as coproduction and the purchase of know-how. This has been learned from Romanian sources in Bucharest. The Romanians have lately noted the possibility of producing both agricultural and industrial machines in cooperation with Israeli plants. Among other things they proposed that the production of the machinery will be carried out in Romania and that the Israeli cooperation will be expressed mainly in the introduction of computers into these machines. Last week a senior Romanian delegation headed by the minister of state for foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Dumitru Bejan, visited Israel and held discussions with senior Industry and Commerce Ministry officials on current matters. The talks also raised the possibilities of coproduction. The delegation visited an Israetech technical exhibition and examined spheres where the Romanians believe it is possible to begin the new channels of cooperation between the two countries. [Excerpt] [TA161353 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 16 Nov 81 p 13]

MINISTER OF JEWISH AFFAIRS APPOINTMENT--Minister Ytizhaq Moda'i will be appointed special minister for Jewish affairs and will serve as intermediary between the government and the Jewish Agency, as well as the Zionist movement in Israel and abroad. Prime Minister Begin reported this plan to a group of Liberal Party Knesset members, who came to find out what portfolio Minister Moda'i could receive, seeing that he is currently serving as minister without portfolio. As will be recalled, Moda'i wanted to be minister of information, but this did not come about. Begin therefore decided, instead, to offer him the post of "Jewish affairs minister." Moda'i has discussed this with the chairman of the World Zionist Organization, Arye Dulzin, with whom he has strong friendly ties, and expressed his desire to receive the portfolio. [Text] [TA181229 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 18 Nov 81 p 1]

NEW ECONOMIC MINISTRY--The cabinet will decide tomorrow to establish a new ministry to be headed by Minister Ya'aqov Meridor. It will be the Ministry of Economics and Interministerial Coordination. Our political correspondent, Shim'on Schiffer, reports that several Finance Ministry departments will be transferred to Minister Meridor's ministry. [Excerpt] [TA141717 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 14 Nov 81]

CSO: 4423/43



FOREIGN MINISTER DESCRIBES FRUSTRATIONS WITH AMERICAN POLICY

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1301, 9 Oct 81 p 24

[Interview with Marwan al-Qasim, Minister of Foreign Affairs by AL-HAWADITH: "Marwan al-Qasim Describes the Lack of Trust between Jordan and America to AL-HAWADITH: We Talk With America From a Fixed Premise on the Basis of a United Arab Position!"; date and place not specified]

/Text/ King Husayn, the monarch of Jordan, will be making a visit to the United States soon to meet with President Reagan and conduct negotiations with the men in his administration. This visit was preceded by some "trial balloons" which Israel let off in the international sky, hinting that Jordan would become the alternative state and that the United States was plotting over the East Bank.

These political and other "balloons" have turned Jordan into a focus of attention in this specific stage. They have also increased questions about the nature of the negotiations that are to take place between King Husayn and the American administration. The Jordanian foreign minister, Marwan al-Qasim, responds to all of them.

AL-HAWADITH: Your excellency, there is talk about an atmosphere of a lack of trust now in Jordanian-American relations. To what extent is this statement correct, and where do relations between Amman and Washington stand today?

Marwan al-Qasim: Jordan is in constant contact with the countries that are concerned with and have influence in the process toward a just peace in the Middle East region. We will continue through our contacts to express not just the Jordanian viewpoint, which we expressed when the Camp David agreements were signed, but indeed the fears we stated and expressed at that time, and are starting to sense again, in the measures Israel is carrying out now that it has taken us farther away from the peace, even before it could begin, and Egypt has entered the Camp David process under the supervision of the United States. The process of holding a dialogue with American officials is continuous along with the statement of Jordanian opinions and expectations on the dangers of the Camp David agreement to the area, which were all correct; all these matters have caused a substantial portion of American society to express its appreciation of the Jordanian position. In addition, in the other area, we find that Israeli aggressiveness against the Arab countries following the signing of the Camp David agreements has increased and become aggravated. In addition, the Israeli occupation authorities have increased the judaization of the occupied territories, the establishment of



settlements there contrary to all international custom and principles, and the imposition of high taxes on the Arab citizens in these occupied territories, especially in the city of Arab Jerusalem, in order to prepare to swallow them up economically and try to make them evacuate the city so that the Jewish coloring can predominate in this holy city. We ourselves consider these to be blatant acts of aggression which Israel carried out after it signed the Camp David agreements with Egypt under the supervision of the United States of America, in addition to the armed military aggression in southern Lebanon and the savage attacks on Beirut and the Iraqi nuclear reactor. These have all shown that the Jordanian viewpoint, and Jordan's fears of the dangers in these agreements, were all proper and correct. We will talk with America and all international parties with this point as our premise.

**AL-HAWADITH:** What do you expect from the next Arab summit conference, especially as regards Lebanon and developments in the Arab cause?

**Marwan al-Qasim:** Jordan received the Lebanese emissary, who brought a letter from his excellency the president of Lebanon to his majesty the king. Jordan has always been most clear and explicit: We see, feel and suffer from the aggressions Lebanon and the Lebanese people are suffering through and we believe that this sort of constant aggression against Lebanon must be remedied at the Arab summit level. Such a summit, in our opinion, should be periodic, not just to deal with a specific issue which might arise from Israel's aggression against an Arab country, but rather to conduct an annual review of the issues in the Arab world and planning for Arab action in the future through the summit. The basic discussion at the periodic Arab summit must be on the Arab-Israeli conflict, behind which the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Jerusalem, Golan and Iraq as well is continuing; this will all constitute the main heading of any Arab summit meeting. Therefore, the gist of the matter must be discussed at the summit conference, and that is the Arab-Israeli conflict, the issues that branch off from that, and the formulation of a unified Arab strategy to deal with the main issue of the Arab-Israeli struggle and to confront all developments in it. Each summit conference must discuss the strategic Arab points that have been achieved and carried out and have been discussed at the previous summit conference.

As regards Lebanon, in particular, there is a quadrilateral committee which is playing an important role in its attempt to improve the security situation in Lebanon. Everyone knows that it is Israel that is behind that state of instability which Lebanon is going through today. The question which must be raised is, has this committee become convinced that it is no longer able to continue? If this is the case, will it be necessary for an Arab summit meeting to take place on the subject of Lebanon? The Arab summit will be next November, only 2 months from now; when this conference is held, we will do everything in our power to help Lebanon preserve its national unity, territorial integrity and independence.

**AL-HAWADITH:** Much talk has gone on in past years on the need for a European initiative to take place in the Middle East. What new things do you expect from such a European initiative?

Marwan al-Qasim: Jordan has always taken a positive position on any initiative that can move the course of peace forward in its proper context, be that initiative European, international or Soviet. Jordan welcomed the Soviet initiative to hold an international conference on the Middle East and prior to that it welcomed the Soviet-American initiative which emerged from the meeting between the American secretary of state and his Soviet counterpart in November 1977. We also welcomed the principles the European leaders presented through the Venice summit of 1980, and we have asserted our receptivity to all initiatives that aim at realizing the principles of a just comprehensive settlement in the Middle East region.

Here I must point out that we cannot expect to have an improved European, American or Soviet understanding of the justice of the Arab cause if there is no single Arab position on presenting the justice of this cause in the international arena. Had there been a strong, united, carefully studied Arab position, we believe that there would have been a clear, effective European position in a form more favorable to our cause. However, the solution in basic form will never occur or arise from foreign initiatives; it will be necessary to build the Arab house and mobilize all Arab resources, including the military notion, at which point there will be people attentive to the Arab situation in a number of important western capitals, and they will take more effective part in the process of a just peace in the region. At the same time we must stay away from polarization of the Palestinian cause, because any process of polarization, or increase in such polarization, will certainly keep this area from peace, because these countries will interfere in the area to preserve their interests more than they will be interested in the security, peace and rights of the parties involved in this area.

We in Jordan do not believe that there is room for a resolution if it is not just, comprehensive and concentrated on firm bases, not on suppositions or unclear conclusions that people will differ over. The Arab-Israeli struggle arose from the Zionist invasion of Palestine. When we say that the Palestinian cause is the central cause of the Arab-Israeli struggle and that it is truly in every sense of the word the essence of the struggle between the Arab nation and Israel, it is necessary to go back to the essence and create a solution which recognizes the rights of the Palestinian Arab people and the need to have Israel withdraw from Arab territories and to have Jerusalem restored to Arab sovereignty. These are the positions of principle which one cannot ignore, or accept in part, because it is no longer a matter of bartering. The foundations for real peace depend on these three principles; therefore we say that while Israeli withdrawal from Sinai might actually occur, in exchange for that Israel is holding on to the West Bank and Gaza, has multiplied its construction of settlements, has isolated Egypt from the arena of the struggle and has brought in its military forces and concentrated them on the eastern front. This in itself has been an exorbitant price. More important than all that, the basic issue is still pending and fragmentary issues which have not helped in the creation of a just, comprehensive peace have taken its place. We say that in any effort toward peace it is necessary to concentrate first and foremost on the basic issue, which is the Palestinian cause, and when this cause is resolved there will not be any dispute over Syrian territory or Lebanese territory. We do not believe that withdrawing from Sinai is an alternative to withdrawing from the occupied Arab territories, and we do not believe that it is necessary or feasible for the Camp David group to try to impose autonomy as

an alternative to the right of self-determination, because Palestinian rights are fixed, like the rights of any people in the world; they have political, economic and legal rights and the whole world has recognized them. Therefore we are sometimes amazed when we see that some Western countries take enthusiastic positions on the application of international principles on self-determination in a specific area, while this enthusiasm lessens or becomes ineffective elsewhere.

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## BRIEFS

LIBYAN JAILED IN ROME--Rome, 19 Nov (AFP)--The prosecution has demanded 18 years' jail for a Libyan on trial here for shooting a former friend in exile in Italy on the orders of Libyan leader Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi. The court was told that 'Abd al-Nabi Muhammad Su'ati had fired two shots at jeweller Sa'd Muhammad Baghati on June 11 last year, the deadline Colonel al-Qadhdhafi had publicly given for exiles to return to Libya or "be liquidated on the spot." Mr Su'ati was said to have arrived in Rome a few days beforehand and, after unsuccessfully trying to convince his friend to return, shot and badly wounded him, crying "al-Qadhdhafi, al-Qadhdhafi." Attacks on Libyans living in Italy in the same period killed five people and wounded two others. Several of those allegedly responsible as well as Mr Sua'ati are awaiting trial. [Text] [NC191116 Paris AFP in English 1044 GMT 19 Nov 81]

CSO: 4500/52

SUDAN

BRIEFS

SECRET TALKS WITH ETHIOPIA--Khartoum, 13 Nov (INA)--It was learned here today that Sudanese-Ethiopian military talks are being held in secrecy between the two countries' officials in Khartoum. It was mentioned here that an Ethiopian military delegation had arrived in Khartoum on an unannounced visit. However, reliable sources believe that this visit has to do with an expected visit to Sudan by the Ethiopian defense minister. Two days ago, Gen 'Abd al-Majid Hamid Khalil, Sudanese first vice president and defense minister, held talks with the Ethiopian military attache on the Ethiopian minister's visit. [Text] [JN132115 Baghdad INA in Arabic 2010 GMT 13 Nov 81]

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